National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

NL-339 (r. 88/04) c

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ST. PETER'S INDIAN SETTLEMENT: A HOUSE INDIAN COMMUNITY AT RED RIVER, 1833 - 1856

by

© Angela D. Jeske

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1990

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

ISBN 0-315-60259-7

NL 339 (r. 88/04)c

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Angela D. Jeske

TITLE OF THESIS: St Peter's Indian Settlement: A House Indian Community at Red River, 1833 - 1856

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED: Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: Spring, 1990

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(signed) Angela Jeske

Permanent Address

15 Mackenzie St

Spruce, AB

Date: December 8, 1989

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "St. Peter's Indian Settlement: A House Indian Community at Red River, 1833 - 1856" submitted by Angela D. Jeske in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

(Supervisor)

(External Evaluator)

Date: Oct 6, 1989

ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is the nature of St. Peter's Indian settlement , one of the communities which comprised the Red River settlement. During the period which this study encompasses, 1833-1856, the Indian settlement demonstrated characteristics which defined it as a House Indian community. This proposition challenges the prevailing interpretation of the St. Peter's Indian settlement as a community which existed solely as a result of missionary efforts.

The inhabitants of the Indian settlement shared cultural practises which are identified as House Indian in nature. The term "House Indian" is used to describe the members of Indian bands atttached to fur trade posts in the interior. This community, the Indian settlement, was a community whose members' cultural practises were an adapation of previous House Indian practises to new opportunities in the fur trade economy. Through their pursuit of these cultural practises, the community's members challenged the efforts of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. Economic activities in which the members of the Indian settlement engaged had antecedents in the economic practises of House Indian bands. Ties of kinship served to attract new members to the Indian settlement and the kin linkages which were established amongst the members of the Indian settlement assisted in forging a sense of community in St. Peter's Indian settlement. It was from these shared House Indian experiences that the sense of community in the Indian settlement was derived. Through their pursuit of House Indian economic opportunities, the community's members challenged the efforts of the of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society to establish their repertoire of "Christianity and civilization" in the Indian settlement.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A number of people and institutions have aided and abetted the writing of this thesis. Dr. John E. Foster provided the consistent patience and support of my efforts which were essential to the completion of this project. Dr. Gerhard Ens provided practical advice and assistance which was invaluable. Among the many other individuals who offered various kinds of support , John Tobias and Renate Scheelar are especially thanked. The staffs of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, the Hudson's Bay Archives and the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupertsland were most helpful, and they have as well given permission to quote from their holdings. The writing of this thesis could not have been accomplished without the support of my family--Harold, Jill and Hal--who tolerated my physical and mental absences with good grace.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Endnotes	13
II.	THE MISSIONARY FOUNDATIONS OF THE INDIAN SETTLEMENT	15
	Endnotes	35
III.	STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	40
	Endnotes	61
IV.	SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE INDIAN SETTLEMENT	66
	Endnotes	83
V.	CONCLUSION	88
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	91

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
1.	St. Peter's Cultivated Acres	42
2.	St. Andrew's Cultivated Acres	43
3.	Livestock	52
4.	Captial Goods	54
5.	Marriage Patterns: 1841 - 1850	70

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Description	Page
1.	Locational Map of the Indian Settlement, 1827 - 1856	16

Chapter I

In the spring of 1833, sixteen miles below "Grand Rapids" on the Red River in Rupertsland, Reverend William Cockran of the Church Missionary Society of the Anglican Church in Great Britain began an Indian settlement at Cook's Creek. This settlement was perceived by the missionary as a vehicle for facilitating the emergence of the "Indian" segment of the population in Red River, as an evangelized and civilized community. This community, despite the fact that many of its members were of mixed Indian and European ancestry, was to be separate from the other communities of settlers of largely mixed Euro-Canadian and Indian ancestry whose ways were seen as distinct from Indians. In 1836, with the completion of a church on the settlement, the Indian settlement also became known as St. Peter's. In 1833 Cockran identified the Indian settlement as an entity for the first time. From that date until 1857, sufficient data exist from several sources to make it possible to develop a detailed picture of the nature of the community and its inhabitants. With the departure of the Reverend William Cockran from the Indian settlement in 1857, the paucity of documentation relating to the settlement renders it much more difficult to identify the nature of that community and to trace its development. In the quarter century following its establishment, however, the settlement laid the basis for its existence until 1871 when the first of the numbered treaties changed the location and nature of the Indian settlement.

Historical records indicate that members of the Indian settlement community in Red River, like their neighbours in the parishes to the south,

were of mixed Euro-Canadian and Indian ancestry. Why then did this community at the northern extremity of Red River emerge and develop as the Indian settlement? Was it distinguishable from the other communities solely on the basis of its geographical location and status as an "Indian mission" or were there cultural practises that were equally important in defining in the minds of the inhabitants the distinctiveness of the "Indian settlement"? Fundamentally, what factors explain the Indian settlement's emergence as a distinct community and what factors served to sustain this distinction in Red River? Answers to the questions as to the origins and nature of the Indian settlement in Red River are inextricably bound up in the history of the fur trade, and the activities of the Church Missionary Society and its missionaries.

The central argument of this thesis is that the Indian settlement as an historical community can best be understood as a House Indian community. A House Indian community in the fur trade can be defined as an Indian band whose economic and social linkages with a particular trading post were sufficiently intimate, in comparison with other bands, that different modes of behaviour were evident. Pivotal therefore to the community's survival was its members' ability to adapt their previous House Indian experience to circumstances at the Indian settlement in Red River. The economic and social behaviour of the inhabitants mirrored the behaviour of House Indians in the interior and extending to the coast of Hudson Bay. Perhaps it was from this shared set of House Indian experiences that the sense of community in the Indian settlement was derived.

Scholarly writings bearing on the history of the Indian settlement in Red River can be divided into two groups: those works which address the settlement directly and those writings which, in addressing other fur trade communities in terms of their origins, development and nature, offer insight into the history of the Indian village. The Red River Settlement's first historian, Alexander Ross, saw the existence of the Indian village dependent upon the initiative of the Church Missionary Society and particularly Reverend William Cockran:

> Mr. Cockran, one of the Protestant missionaries at Red River, caught the happy idea of turning this favorable disposition to account and from that day he labored hard and zealously to collect a few Indians together to induce them to throw off their savage habits and lead a settled life, with a view to their moral and religious development.[1]

While it seems that Ross's focus on the success of the Indian settlement gives credit only to the Church missionary society, he does note the role that Joseph Cook, a mixed blood son of retired Chief Factor William Hemmings Cook, played in the formation of the settlement: "Mr. Cockran's undertaking was encouraged in every possible way by a respectable and diligent half-breed of the country...."[2] It was also Ross who noted the means by which Indians were attracted from the interior to Red River:

> From time to time those friendly Indians (Swampies) have visited and sojourned for a short time in the settlement....One of this tribe all the way from Oxford house [sic] with the intention of visiting a daughter and stepson he had in Red River and returning back the ing spring; but he passed the winter with a family of his acquaintance,

> who made an effort to convert him from his wandering ways and heathen habits.[3]

This statement seems to indicate Ross's awareness of other factors at work in the formation of the Indian settlement. Ross, however, apparently does not see these forces as a major contribution to the development and success of the settlement.

T.C. Boon, late archivist for the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land (Anglican), was the first individual to produce a work that was entirely focussed on the Indian settlement. His article, "St. Peter's Dynevor", is a chronological narrative, tracing the development of the Indian settlement through to its emergence as St.Peter's Parish.[4] Boon's work also argued that the Indian settlement's formation was solely contingent upon the work of the missionaries, as was its continuation.

A more recent work focussing on the genesis of the Indian settlement is Michael Czuboka's master's thesis.[5] In tracing the Indian settlement's history, Czuboka saw the Church Missionary Society as the critical factor explaining the origins, the development, and, by 1870, the demise of the community. As with Ross and Boon, Czuboka accepted the distinctiveness of the Indian settlement as a function of the "Indianness" of the inhabitants and the importance of the Church Missionary Society's missonary role. It was not, in Czuboka's view, until Reverend William Cockran arrived that the potential for a distinctly Indian Settlement could be realized.[6] Furthermore, Czuboka acknowledged the origins of the Indians in migrations from the interior:

> Those on the Red River were stragglers, or individuals who had departed for various reasons

> from the vicinity of their closest en. The greatest single attraction for the Crees at the Colony was the presence of half-breed relatives.[7]

Yet as with Ross and Boon, Czuboka raised no questions as to why and how such individuals differed culturally from their mixed-blood relatives at St. Andrews and in other parishes in Red River. For Czuboka, sufficient explanation existed in the fact that they were "Cree." Since the appearance of Czuboka's thesis in 1960, no subsequent scholarship has been directed at the Indian settlement.

A work of a different nature that does not discuss the Indian settlement specifically, but does provide some insight into the community's emergence was W.L. Morton's essay on the Red River Parish. He contended that:

> Basically the parish was a settl ment which had either grown up around a mission or in which a mission had been established. Accordingly the parishes were the natural, ecclesiastical units of the settlement, each with its own communal life.[8]

What is significant in Morton's statement is the assertion that it is the "communal life" of the parish that is central to the maintenance of the parish, rather than the converse. Morton's statement clearly indicated that Red River's history had determined the parish to be a community, not simply aunit of church government and administration.

The process of creating a new cultural entity, ethnogenesis, has been a critical focus in the scholarship of Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown in their discussion of the Metis.[9] Central to Peterson's analysis is the socio-economic role of some leading adult males who, through their role as *commis* and later *bourgeois* in the fur trade, came to head large extended families. In time some of the sons of these leading males succeeded to their

fathers' roles at the centre of these extended families. Peterson focussed on the generational processes that had as their result the emergence of a Metis people in the Great Lakes region. These people consisted of several extended-family communities bordering the upper Great Lakes.

Central to Peterson's study of the origins of the Great Lakes Metis was the role of the *commis* (clerk) in leading small trading parties into the hunting and trapping territories of the different bands. This "fur trade *en derouine*" in the St.Lawrence-Great Lakes fur trade in the eighteenth century contrasted sharply with the coast factory system of the Hudson Bay fur trade in which Indians handled the gathering of furs and their transportation to the coastal factory. In the St.Lawrence-Great Lakes fur trade the *commis* was the critical figure linking the band leader and the *bourgeois* of the trading post. It was the *commis* who formed the critical marriage alliance with the band and became a factor of much significance in their lives. In time a successful *commis* could become a *bourgeois* contracting an enduring marriage with a female relative of another *bourgeois* without losing his kin ties to the Indian bands he had served as *commis*.

As the eighteenth century progressed in the Great Lakes area, warfare abated enabling the *bourgeois* and their extended families to branch out from the major forts and establish extended family communities in locations appropriate to their commercial interests. In Peterson's explanation of the origins of the Metis, the role of the *commis* evolving into *bourgeois* was critical. The few males who succeeded in this role become the focal individuals in the extended family communities that emerged. Peterson's

explanation of the origins of the Metis may be applicable to the Indian settlement.

Jennifer Brown, in her work on fur trade families, focussed as well on the roles that adult males played in placing, or not placing, their mixed-blood offspring. Developing the concept of patrifocality, she determined that after 1821 many Hudson's Bay Company officers, as fathers, invested considerable social, economic and emotional energy in the "proper" up-bringing, education and placement of their off-spring.[10] These offspring did not become Metis because their fathers possessed the means, financial and otherwise, to place their children in environments that brought them up British and other than native. Elsewhere Brown noted the centrality of adult females in Metis families, providing continuity over time.[11] More recently, Brown has suggested that Metis life was characterized by a phenomenon whereby women provided the continuity in Metis families because they were more likely to remain in an area, such as the West, marrying there, and thus adding to the population growth of the Metis.[12]

Brown's writings suggest that by the nineteenth century the factors operative in the emergence of the Great Lakes Metis were no longer valid farther west. Her writings also suggest that families with dominant males influencing family lives did not give rise to Metis offspring when their children matured. In contrast, in Metis families the dominant adult was the female who functioned as mother to most and wife to a succession of males whose influence was limited by their relatively short residence. In such families the adult female was of critical importance to the family's survival. This notion possibly is useful for understanding the role women played in

the formation and maintenance of the Indian settlement. That is, it might be possible to discern a pattern of women over generations marrying or forming liasons with males from outside the Indian settlement, and they themselves remaining within the settlement to raise their families. What is also salient in determining the role of women in the Indian settlement is Brown's suggestion that identifying "the development and roles of semi-autonomous female-headed family units"[13] would contribute to an understanding of the forces which contributed to the community's formation and development.

The historian John Foster has disagreed with Jennifer Brown's image of Metis families and has suggested that Peterson's image of the *commis*-to-*bourgeois* role as critical to the appearance of Great Lake Metis is operative farther west once the altered circumstances of a different fur trade are taken into account. Foster argues that, in the valley of the North Saskatchewan River, the provisioning niche in the St.Lawrence-Great Lakes fur trade in particular, but including the Hudson Bay trade, encouraged the appearance of freemen who specialized in supplying both furs and provisions to the trading companies. *Engages* who served out their engagements had acquired large families and possessed the skills that would allow them to survive in the Parkland in the closing years of the eighteenth century gave rise to *les gens libres*[14]. Not many *engages* possessed the skills and bravado that would allow them and their families to survive in such circumstances. The documents suggest that those who succeeded tended to be particularly dominant and assertive.[15] Foster has argued the necessity of patrifocality in the families of freemen if they were in time to give rise to the Plains Metis.

As well, he has argued that some of the families which Brown sees as Metis were more characteristic of House Indians.[16]

This concept of "House Indian", identified by John Foster, is central to an analysis of the community at the Indian settlement. The historical record suggests that the inhabitants of this community were derived from House Indian bands. House Indian bands were those bands who in the nineteenth century were most closely associated with the larger fur trade posts or "houses". In many instances, particularly as far west as Cumberland House, they were probably descendants of the Homeguard Cree bands of the eighteenth century Hudson Bay coastal Cree.[17] House Indian bands were characterized by a nucleus of males who found employment, usually seasonal, with the Hudson's Bay Company. At other times they hunted and trapped and possibly practised some horticulture. Their ties to the Hudson's Bay Company and seasonal employment tended to limit their range of travel. It is suggested that they made up the bulk of unskilled labour in the Hudson's Bay Company's employment.

The wives of Hudson's Bay Company servants were frequently drawn from House bands rather than more distant bands. The Euro-Canadian males who filled the role of husband and father often left their "families" as they moved to other posts. Therefore, the female's focus was the band and her male kin lodged there. As a result, the children of such unions were raised as "Indian", with the mother's male kin providing the role model for the young males, rather than as Metis.

The inhabitants of the Indian settlement, as House Indians, would share a common cultural heritage along with, in many instances, kin and

family ties. In the settlement they would share many experiences. This thesis will argue that the Indian settlement came into existence because of what might be identified as the "House Indian" niche in the fur trade. This niche involved seasonal labour as tripmen, hunters, couriers and labourers with periods away from the post hunting and trapping. As an adaptation, residence in the Indian settlement may have replaced attachment to a fur trade post, with individuals following the same pattern of behaviour. Adult males particularly spent periods away from the Indian settlement to engage in the same economic activities as they had engaged in while attached to the fur trade post.

The notion of "cultural persistence" is useful here. This involves the insight that a cultural entity will adapt its behaviour to changing circumstances, economic and social, to perpetuate those aspects of its culture which it regards as both functional and crucial to its survival.[18] As a result, the threatened cultural entity persists and perhaps thrives in spite of what scholars might deem to be threats to its existence. The extent to which the House Indian way of life persisted and dominated in the Indian settlement is thus a question which arises. In turn the question also arisies as to the appropriateness of House Indian behaviour in facilitating the survival of the community and its individual participants in the context of the changing social and economic environment in Red River.

In order to examine the course of the Indian settlement's history over its first quarter century, it is necessary to examine economic activities insofar as they can be determined. As well, examining social relationships and kin and other ties should offer insight. In effect, the study of these activities in

this period in the Indian settlement is a study in ethnogenesis. The process of ethnogenesis emphasizes the decisions of the participants as having an internal dynamic, and thus it provides a perspective other than that of the actions of the outsiders--in this case the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. This focus on "community" and the individuals comprising it, suggests that residence in the settlement was a decision based on a conscious examination and choice of options by the participants.

Previous studies of the Indian settlement have focussed on clerical documents. While these ecclesiastical records are useful when re-examined in light of new questions brought to bear on them, the Hudson's Bay Company documents are equally essential to a more complete understanding of the Indian settlement as they detail family and economic relationships. Certain problems in using the foregoing documents as sources for an historical study are inherent in the documents themselves. First of all, the "recorder" engages in a process of selection. What the recorder does not include is as important as what he does include for his record assumes some shared understandings among those contemporaries for whom the documents were written. Secondly, because of the often incomplete nature of the documents, what are arrived at are "...historical explanations that... are the `best' case rather than the `only' case possible".[19] One of the major difficulties will be to construct patterns of individual and collective behaviour from what is in some cases very disparate information. The nature of this study suggests in part an approach defined as nominative analysis which is "the linking together of various pieces of demographic information using the names of individuals as the linking device."[20]

This thesis will examine three fundamental questions in light of the proposition that the Indian settlement was a House Indian community. Chapter two in this thesis re-examines the role that the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society played in the formation of the Indian settlement. It will consider the extent to which the missionaries provided a focus for the community's development. The third chapter focusses on the nature of the economic life of the community. The question as to the extent to which the members of the Indian settlement would display House Indian economic behaviour is a central question. Would there be evidence to support the claim that the settlement's members would practice a combination of economic activities, such as horticulture combined with tripping, trapping, hunting and freighting? Another related question addresses the extent to which agriculture became the economic backbone of the community. The fourth chapter attempts to identify and examine social relationships in the Indian settlement. Did kin ties influence or perhaps determine migration to the Indian settlement? Was ethnicity a factor? Would it be possible to establish points of origin? Did social groupings within the settlement reflect origins that went beyond questions of kinship to those of ethnicity? With answers to questions posed in each of the chapters the nature of the community that arose in the Indian settlement in Red River between 1833 and 1857 should emerge.

Endnotes

[1]Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State. Reprint Edition (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1972) pp.276-277.

[2] Joseph Cook, son of William Hemmings Cook, settled in the Indian settlement after serving as a Trader for the Hudson's Bay Company before 1820 and was the schoolmaster in the Indian settlement from 1833-1852. Alexander Ross in The Red River Settlement,p.279.

[3]Ross, p.276.

[4]Reverend T.C. Boon, "St. Peter's Dynevor". Transactions of the Historical Society of Manitoba, Series 3, No.9, 1954, (Winnipeg: 1954) pp.16-32.

[5]Michael Czuboka, "St. Peter's: An Historical Study with Anthropological Observations on the Christian Aborigines of Red River (1811-1876)". (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of History, University of Manitoba, 1960.)

[6]Czuboka, Introduction, p.ii.

[7]Czuboka, pp.36-37.

[8]W.L.Morton, "The Red River Parish:Its Place in The Development of Manitoba." in Manitoba Essays ed. R.C.Lodge, p.90.

[9]Jacqueline Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River: Metis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1815" in The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America ed. by Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H.Brown.(Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, 1984) p.38.

[10]Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1980). Introduction, p.xx.

[11]Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Women as Centre and Symbol in the Emergence of Metis Communities". Canadian Journal of Native Studies, III,I (1983) pp.39-46.

[12]Brown, "Women",p.39.

[13]Ibid., p.40.

[14]John E. Foster, "The Plains Metis". in R. Bruce Morrison and C.Roderick Wilson, Editors. Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.) p.384.

[15]John E. Foster, "Paulet-Paul--House Indian or Metis Folk Hero?" Manitoba History, no. 9, Spring 1985. p.4.

[16]Foster, "Metis", p.384.

[17]A discussion of what might be described as proto-typical House Indian behavior is to be found in John E.Foster's "Paulet-Paul--House Indian or Metis Folk Hero?" Manitoba History, no.9, Spring 1985. pp.2-5. In terms of the historical development of the
House Indian experience in the nineteenth century as evolving from the Home Guard Cree experience of the eighteenth century, the work of Toby Morantz is useful. Her most extensive work is An Ethnohistoric Study of Eastern James Bay Cree Social Organization,1700-1850. Another work on the Home Guard phenomenon is John Foster's "The Home Guard Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company: The First Hundred Years" in Approaches to Native History in Canada. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series. (Ottawa: 1977). pp. 49-64.

[18]The idea of cultural persistence is the central argument in Paul C. Thistle, Indian Trader Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1986.) As well, this idea is articulated in John E. Foster's review of that volume in the Canadian Historical Review, Vol.LXIX, no.1, March 1988. pp.99-100.

[19]Foster, "The Plains Metis", p.377.

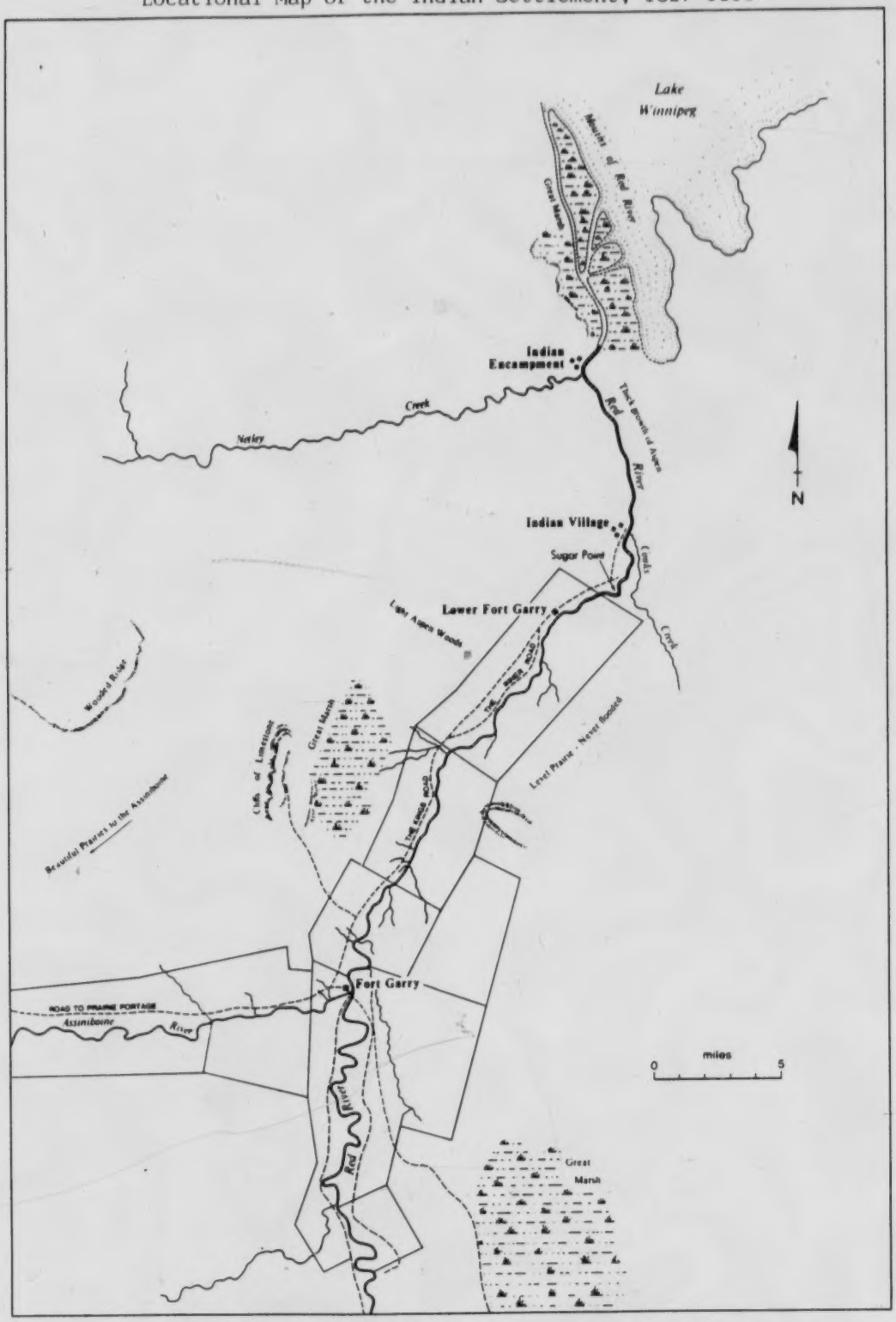
[20]Jennifer S.H.Brown, "A Demographic Transistion in the Fur Trade Country: Family Sizes and Fertility of Company Officers and Country Wives, ca 1759-1850." The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol.VI, no.1, 1976. p.62.

Chapter II

In the period from 1833 to 1857, the Reverend William Cockran was the missionary who had the most extended contact with the Indian settlement; however, the missionary foundations of the Indian settlement began earlier with the work of the first Anglican missionary, the Reverend John West who envisioned an Indian mission at Red River. That these men, along with the Reverend John Smithurst, were to be a significant factor affecting the formation of the Indian settlement cannot be denied. To date, however, their role in the process of the community's formation and the nature of their impact on the community and its inhabitants has not been fully explored. In the existing literature, the missionaries and their supporting missionary agency are seen as critical to the settlement's beginnings and crucial to whatever success the settlement enjoyed. In this literature success is defined in terms of the missionaries' objectives: to develop the Indian settlement as a Christian and civilized community. Behaviour reflecting these objectives was hailed as a success. Other behaviours not reflecting Christianity and civilization were seen as failures. But perhaps the missionaries' objectives, while functioning as significant factors in the early history of the settlement, were not the appropriate criteria by which to determine the "success" or "failure" of the Indian settlement.

The Indian settlement's location was at the northern most extremity of the Red River Settlement. Red River itself had as its central focus the juncture of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Emanating from the forks of these two rivers and following along their banks, a configuration of mission-

Locational Map of the Indian Settlement, 1827-1856



Source: "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country Between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement." H.Y. Hind

communities arose. In 1818 the first mission in the region was that of the Roman Catholic priests, Fathers Dumoulin and Provencher. They settled on the east bank of the Red River directly opposite to the forks of the Red and Assinboine rivers. This mission became known as St. Boniface, and it became the focus of Roman Catholic missionary activity in the region.[1] The community about the mission was mainly composed of a few French-Canadian families and a large number of mixed blood families associated with former servants of the North West Company, the Metis. Twenty miles west of St. Boniface on the Assiniboine river the Parish of St. Francois-Xavier, also known as White Horse Plains, emerged in 1824. It was home to the Metis leader Cuthbert Grant and his kinsmen.[2] In 1820, the Reverend John West of the Church of England established "Upper Church", later St. John's, approximately two miles below the forks on Point Douglas on the west side of the Red River. North of St. John's was the settlement of the Kildonan Scots, who attended St. John's as they had no Presbyterian Church of their own. The Reverend David Jones established the second of the Church of England's parishes six miles down the Red River at Image Plain in 1825. This church was known as Middle Church and later St. Paul's.[3] In 1829, some thirteen miles further down the Red River, St. Andrew's, first known as Lower Church, was established by the Reverend Willian Cockran. This parish was home to retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and their native families. St. Andrews apparently "flourished beyond all other parishes."[4] By 1835 the basic configuration of parish-settlements in Red River was in place.

In October of 1820 the Reverend John West arrived in the Red River Settlement. Employed as Chaplain by the Hudsons's Bay Company, he was encouraged to take direction from the Church Missionary Society insofar as the Indians were concerned:

> In my appointment to the Company, my instructions were to reside at the Red River Settlement, and under the encouragement and aid of the Church Missionary Society, I was to seek the instruction and endeavour to meliorate the condition of the native Indians.[5]

West's instructions did not address the issue of a "half-breed" population. In his journal he recognized this problem and proposed a plan to address what he deemed were the needs of the population of Rupert's Land:

> Observing a number of half breed children running about, growing up in ignorance and idleness, and being informed that they were a numerous offspring of Europeans by Indian at all the Company's posts, I drew up a plan which I submitted to the Governor, for collecting a certain number of them, to be maintained, clothed and educated upon a regularly organized system. It was transmitted by him to the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company....[6]

West's proposal brought him into conflict with the Church Missionary Society. While he viewed the immediate circumstances of the "half breeds" as the situation to which his efforts should be addressed, the Society did not agree. The Society reminded West that " {His} own labours ... will be bestowed on the Indian and on the Europeans...."[7] The directors of the Church Missionary Society placed West and his successor in an impossible

situation with this artificial separation of Indians and "Halfbreeds".[8] In terms of the development of the Indian settlement, the separation between "Indian" and "mixed-blood" was of little importance as other factors served to delineate ethnicity.

The first contact that West had with the Indians had been at York Factory. His distress at their situation was apparent, as he noted in his journal: "I visited several Indian families and ... saw them crowded together in the miserable-looking tents.... The duty devolved upon me to seek to meloriate their sad condition."[9] At this time, West also took two sons of an Indian named Withewecapo to accompany him to the Red River settlement when he left York Factory in September of 1820. These boys were baptised as James and John Hope.[10]

As he continued his journey inland to the Red River settlement, West acquired another Indian boy at Norway House whom he later baptized as Henry Budd. As he travelled up the Red River, passing Netley Creek, he made contact with the Saulteaux chief, Peguis. Peguis and his band of Saulteaux had arrived in the region of Red River some time during the late eighteenth century. In his contacts with Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company, Peguis had demonstrated considerable ability in negotiating with Europeans.[11] Later during the winter of 1822, Peguis would call on West to help feed the members of his band, who he said were starving.[12] In time Peguis and some members of his band would settle in the Indian settlement.

During his tenure in Red River, West directed his activities to serving the needs of the retired Hudson's Bay Company servants whose numbers had

increased with the merger of the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1820. Tension developed between West and the principal officer of the Hudson's Bay Company residing in the Red River settlement. George Simpson, the Company's Governor in the Northern Department, gave minimal support for West's goals. Simpson's "attitude toward the missionaries...was unadorned by a cant of pseudo piety. Those who helped promote the interests of the fur trade were assets; those who worked against these interests should be given no help."[13] West's actions raised the question as to whether he was a friend of the fur trade. West noted: "it was hinted to me that the interest I was taking in the education of the native children has already excited the fears of some of the Chief Factors and Traders."[14] This division of interest was to be an enduring one between the Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society.

In spite of the opposition to his efforts, West was active in travelling to other fur trade posts. These included Qu'Appelle and Brandon in the winter of 1821. West also travelled to York Factory in the summer of 1821 in his role as missionary. Upon his return to Red River West was dismayed to find that little progress had been made on the schoolhouse and church that he had encouraged and expected to be erected during his absence. It was completed before his departure the next summer for his annual missionary journey to York Factory. On his return he again met with Peguis, who apparently questioned the extent to which the missionary would interfere in the lives of the young Indians whom West had indicated he would like to have in attendance at the school. West replied:

> I told him they might return to their parents if they wished it, but my hope was that they would see the advantage of making gardens, cultivating the soil, so as not to be exposed to hunger and starvation as the Indians generally were, who had to wander and hunt for their provisions.[15]

When West left the Red River settlement in 1823 for Britain, he had established two important precedents in terms of the Indian settlement. In the first instance, he had established the practise of removing Indian children to the Red River settlement for education and baptism. Later, adults as well would involve themselves in the mission's educational efforts. The second was the contact that West had with Peguis. On an individual level, the attachment that Peguis formed with West was extended to West's successor in the area, the Reverend William Cockran. This appears to have enhanced the movement of others into the Indian settlement. Although John West never returned to the Red River Settlement, as he had intended to do when he left in 1823, he had laid the foundations for the Indian settlement community in the social relationships that he formed.

The arrival of the Reverend William Cockran in the Red River settlement on October 7, 1825, was auspicious in terms of the development of the Indian settlement. He was to be assistant Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company--the Chaplain was the Reverend David Jones, West's successor in 1823--as well as fulfill a missionary role for the Church Missionary Society. Cockran initially worked as assistant to Reverend Jones at Upper Church, but had begun to focus his efforts on the native population. This precipitated his move to Grand Rapids, later known as "Lower Church", in 1829, where he

established a mission among what was identified as the "half-breed" population.[16]

Cockran, while busy at Lower Church, had been interested in a tract of land further down the Red River, known since Selkirk's time as the "Indian reserve".[17] Peguis and his band of Saulteaux were frequently found on this land. Cockran looked toward Peguis's reserve mostly, one suspects, because those who lived with Peguis practised some corn horticulture. Thus the first attempt by Cockran to establish a Christian agricultural settlement among the Saulteaux was on their reserve at Sugar Point. It was noted that in 1832 there were thirty-five families on the Saulteaux reserve.[18] Cockran was, however, hampered in his efforts by the views of some of the elders in Peguis's band, who declared "agriculture might be a good way of life for whitemen, but if the Indians attempted it they would surely incur the wrath of the Great Spirit."[19] The question of the compatibiltiy of Indian ways and missionary aspirations would be an enduring feature of the community's development.

The Hudson's Bay Company's resistance to Cockran's scheme to establish an Indian settlement was at first negligible, but Cockran was aware that there was the potential for more active resistance. Well aware of the tentativeness of his position, Cockran noted "It would be inimical to the Cause to publish any extracts which would lead the Directors of the Company to conclude that I am attempting to make a pure Indian settlement."[20] Cockran continued:

> [the] evangelizing of the heathen will militate their [officers of the H.B.C.] trade, and prevent them lucre by handfulls, as they considered their principle safety to arise from delays and failures. Benevolent schemes have always been met with

> coolness, delayed as long as possible; and when set on foot, treated with scorn and malevolence as to ensure failure.[21]

Superficially, the argument between Cockran and Simpson revolved around the issue of the ownership of land on which Cockran had established the Indian settlement. From Simpson's perspective, the Indian settlement was Colony property, and thus under the direction of the executors of Lord Selkirk's estate. Furthermore, Simpson's position was that "he [Simpson] as an executor, would not tolerate the location of Indians upon it." [22] When asked by Cockran to allow the Indians to settle there, Simpson refused to state his position in writing. As Simpson did not pursue the issue, Cockran simply ignored Simpson's earlier statement, and continued with his efforts to establish the Indian settlement.[23]

Cockran and perhaps Peguis were aware of the interests of other settlers to secure more land for themselves. The price for choice lots in the Red River settlement had risen to ten shillings an acre in 1832.[24] Cockran reported:

> they are negotiating with the old Chief (Peguis) for a large piece of land called Sugar Point because of the large quantity of Maple [sic] that grow upon it. They offer him 1 [sic] of rum and 3 [sic] blankets for it. I have disuaded the Chief from it hitherto; but I fear they will get round him at some unfortunate This will shew [sic] how easily an Indian reserve can be made to sell at l0s per acre. This l l/2 or l 3/4 miles will give many a chain lot. [25]

Sugar Point was on the direct fur trade route linking Red River to the Winnipeg River post and to Norway House. Simpson was certainly aware of

the advantages of Sugar Point and may have wanted to prevent it from becoming a base for illicit traders.

After the disastrous winter of 1831-32, Cockran looked toward Netley Creek, a location below Sugar Point on the Red River. Its proximity to a frequent camping place of the Saulteaux as well as being close to their fishing grounds in summer and winter suggested that it would be a better mission. Netley Creek had been an out-post attached, in 1827, to Bas de la Riviere (Fort Alexandria).[26] White fish were brought to the outpost for trans-shipment to the Red River settlement. An entry in the Winnipeg River Journal notes that "two men brought 77 fish" and that the "boat arrived again from Netley Creek." [27] Cockran's move to Netley Creek was no doubt based on his knowledge that the post already functioned as a gathering point. Thus, in the summer of 1832, Cockran pitched a tent at Netley Creek. By the end of the summer, although his success was somewhat underwhelming as he had persuaded only Peguis and six others to attempt agriculture, Cockran had constructed three buildings: one for himself, one for Peguis, and one for an elder in Peguis's band, Red Deer. Success was measured in the harvest conducted by fourteen "farmers", including Peguis and Red Deer.[28] The bulk of the Saulteaux, hovever, did not join in.

At this time, hostility emerged between some of the Saulteaux who had followed Peguis to the settlement at Netley Creek and the Swampy Cree who were joining them. There appear to have been some Saulteaux who followed Peguis to Netley Creek who were not really interested in pursuing agriculture because among the Saulteaux, participation in agriculture was an issue which led to schism. Thus the comment that "the turn of the Crees to

agriculture tended to increase the hostility between them and the Saulteaux"[29] refers to those Saulteaux, unlike Peguis, who would not engage in agriculture. Cockran commented:

> The Saulteaux have been so inimical to the Gospel that they have no claim upon our assistance except on account of their wretchedness...when they ought to have been sowing their farms, they are conjuring, and before they concluded they unanimously agreed that they would never forsake the customs of their ancestors.[30]

The Cree apparently showed no such reluctance to participate in agriculture.[31] With Cockran's encouragement, Peguis, Red Deer and fifteen other families moved to Cook's Creek.[32] Unfortunately, the historical record does not provide evidence as to which of these families, with the exception of Peguis, was Cree and which Saulteaux. It was this location at Cook's Creek which would eventually become the Indian settlement identified in the Red River census of 1835. The successful harvest of a crop planted at Cook's Creek apparently encouraged others to join the community.[33] Some semblance of permanence occurred when a school was opened in 1833. The first teacher at the school on the Indian settlement was Joseph Cook. He was the son of a Cree woman and a former Hudson's Bay Chief Factor, William Hemmings Cook. Cook was to reside in the Indian settlement for more than twenty years.

Cockran soon found that the path of missionary enterprise was not easy. In 1837 he articulated some of the difficulties that he faced:

> It is certain, from the erratic habits of the people, and the delicacy of their constitutions, that they cannot endure the same confinement...as

> Europeans; they are frequently seized with a particular malady, which they call 'thinking long'. When under the influence of this, if you cannot amuse them, they soon sicken and die. At the Indian settlement our discipline is very loose; we allow the children to hunt and fish whenever they are disposed; and I think we have greatly diminished the fatal cases by it.[34]

While one can question the cultural biases inherent in Cockran's observation, the fact remains that the children's attendance at the school on the Indian settlement was sporadic. This lack of attendance suggests a cultural context distinct from that envisaged by the missionaries. The attractions of the hunt were evident. Further, this behaviour over time suggests the possibility that these cultural practises were functional and that the Indians themselves favoured their maintenance.

Cockran continued to push the necessity of agriculture if settlement was to succeed and give rise to civilization, the necessary concommitant of Christianity. Towards this goal, he continued his efforts to build the necessary infrastructure of a civilized community. He supervised the erection of a flour mill in 1835.[35] The previous method had been to crush grain in pans with stones. Needless to say, this resulted in a highly inferior product.[36] The resulting product from the new mill would serve to attract new adherents as well as hold those who found attractions of the flesh as meaningful as those of the spirit.

Cockran experienced difficulties with his clerical colleague, the Reverend David Jones. Jones had preceded Cockran to the Red River colony in October, 1823. In subsequent months, Jones established a school about ten miles down the Red River from the Forks.[37] Susbsequently, Jones turned his

attention to the construction of a church at Image Plain, which would later become St. Paul's. Cockran believed that Jones and the Hudson's Bay Company were conspiring against him when Jones transferred some of his Indian students to Cockran's school at Grand Rapids. The sixteen year old granddaughter of a retired chief factor had become pregnant by a twelve year old Indian lad at Jones's school. Cockran could not contain his rancour:

> Our unfortunate brother Jones seems too captivated by the world, as to have lost the sacred halo that ought to adorn the missionary character. His leisure time is spent in giving dinners, and attending `Pick Nick Parties', so he has no time to pay me a visit.[38]

On another occasion, Cockran commented: "Jones never recommended the Society to help me...but he could recommend them to cast in...with the...Hudson's Bay Company."[39]

It was at this time, in 1836, that the Indian settlement's first church was built. Formerly the Indian population attended Lower Church. Services on the Indian settlement at Cook's Creek were previously held in the school house, and attendance had been growing steadily. By 1836, church attendance had reached one hundred people.[40] Cockran clearly saw the necessity of building a church to serve the existing parishoners, and no doubt serve converts who would follow in the fullness of time. The church was to be the focal point of the community and, one might suggest, tangible evidence of Cockran's success. The church was officially opened on January 4, 1837, and the opening was attended by many from the Red River Settlement, including officials of the Hudson's Bay Company.[41]

The departure of the Reverend David Jones in August of 1838 placed a heavy burden on Cockran. With Jones' departure, Cockran had the responsibility of looking after Upper Church (St. John's), Middle Church (St.Paul's), and Lower Church (St. Andrew's), as well as the Indian settlement. The extent to which this heavy responsiblity taxed the energy of Cockran did not go unnoticed by his friend, Peguis. His epistle to the Church Missionary Society, carried by the departing Reverend Jones, quite clearly outlined Peguis' concerns:

> my heart is sore, to see our praying Master so drove like a slave, to teach all the people in the settlement. You certainly are not aware of the distance he has to go; I cannot but think you are killing our friend. You should ...send us another to teach us....[42]

Peguis' request did not go unheeded. The Church Missionary Society sent the Reverend John Smithurst to assist Cockran in 1839. Smithurst had arrived at Lower Fort Garry on September 20, 1839, and proceeded directly to the Indian settlement, noting:

> I proposed living myself at the Indian Settlement... and to devote my undivided attention to the Indians....The consequence is, I am no longer Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, but simply a missionary.[43]

Smithurst took charge of the Indian settlement while Cockran continued with his work at Upper, Middle and Lower Churches. It was with Smithurst's arrival at the Indian settlement that the nature of the community became apparent. For the next twelve years, Smithurst was to be the missionary on the Indian settlement, until Cockran's return in 1851.

Cockran shifted his focus from the Indian settlement to St. Andrew's. The following comment, made somewhat later, may have expressed Cockran's feelings in 1839. "The work of evangelizing and civilizing the erratic tribes of this country [is] tedious and discouraging, however prudent, pious, and energetic the superintendent may be."[44] Perhaps his physical exertions had somewhat dimmed his missionary zeal with respect to the Indian population.

The community that Smithurst found at the Indian settlement was a thriving one. There were two schools, a church congregation of 300, and as Smithurst observed "settled families...in tolerably comfortable log houses, surrounded by patches of cultivated land growing very promising crops of wheat, barley and potatoes."[45] Outward appearances, however, could be deceiving. It soon became apparent to Smithurst that, in spite of what appeared to be a commitment to a settled, civilized lifestyle, members of the Indian settlement had their own particular aspirations. From Smithurst's perspective the settlement's "orderly life" was upset by the propensity of the inhabitants to follow Indian ways. Hunting and fishing remained important activities. Smithurst noted, on June 24, 1840 "the service at the Church was very thinly attended...the Settlement seems almost deserted there being scarce any left except a few old people and school children."[46] Whether it was economic necessity or personal pleasure or both, previous cultural practises continued to be expressed by the settlement's inhabitants. Such practises apparently took precedence over the dictates of the mission.

In September of 1840, Smithurst noted the behavioural differences between the majority of the Saulteaux and those who he identified as "Muscaigoes":

> though the assembly consisted of nearly the whole tribe not one expressed a desire for instruction nor did we get a promise of more than three children for the school. As however God has disposed hearts of the Muscaigoes we trust he will in time work for his own glory among the Saulteaux.[47]

Smithurst's disappointment at his inablity to convert the recalcitrant Saulteaux is obvious. He was, however, more successful in later years. By the time he left the settlement in 1851, he had baptized 192 Cree and 90 Saulteaux at the Indian settlement.[48] Certainly his evangelizing success was evident if his track record of baptisms is an indicator.

Smithurst operated his own "model" farm on the settlement, supervised the work of the inhabitants on their own farms, and assisted in the preparation and storage of buffalo meat, and the production of candles from buffalo tallow. Along with all these tasks, he also found time to study Cree and Saulteaux, and to experiment with the introduction of new crops such as cucumbers and kidney beans.[49] Smithurst's dedication is evidenced by the following entry in his Journal:

> Ploughing in the forenoon, in the afternoon sowed wheat all day we ploughed today and yesterday. I am so tired tonight I can scarce move and I have found it no easy task to get through my usual evening service at the school room.[50]

In some regards, it would seem that the attempts at civilizing the Indians became too successful, in Smithurst's opinion at least, for he noted that the

Indians were beginning to request the "luxuries" accorded to the white settlers and missionaries. It was recorded that three Indians approached John Roberts, an English Catechist for a brief period at the Indian settlement, for nails to make bedsteads like those of "White People."[51] Smithurst made an interesting observation when he said "The natural resources of the country suffice while the inhabitants live in barbarism, but when converted into civilized...human beings their new condition bring with it a number of wants which they have no means of supplying."[52] In time Smithurst began to display, if not enthusiasm, then at least some sensitivity with regard to the appropriateness of other than agricultural economic activity by the settlement's inhabitants if it would further his "cause". In 1846, he wrote:

> I by no means think that hunting has a demoralizing effect upon the Indians, if they are not supplied with rum to take out with them. I would much rather that they should be away hunting, than employed among the European and Half-Breed settlers where they would be exposed to the temptations of beer, rum, &c.[54]

Practicality would seem to have over-ridden certain aspects of ideology in this instance.

Smithurst's position was somewhat different in his final report to the Church Missionary Society in 1851 before he relinquished control of the Indian settlement to William Cockran.

> Their (the Indians) fickleness and love of change keep them constantly on the move so that one half of their time is wasted in journies from one place to another.... Their extravagance and mismanagement in domestic matters is another fertile source of difficulty, and is the true cause of much of the starvation that is occasionally felt.[53]

Smithurst's position regarding the activities of the Indians appears somewhat ambivalent. While no doubt success -or lack of it- at times caused Smithurst to feel this way, it also appears that he was practical enough to realize that compromise was necessary to achieve some of his goals. It is also likely that changes had occurred in the settlement which were reflected in his final assessment in 1851. Smithurst left the Indian settlement in 1851 to the care of William Cockran, became a member of the Council of Assiniboia by appointment of the Hudson's Bay Company, and eventually left the Red River settlement to take over St.John's church in Elora, Ontario, where he died in 1867.

When William Cockran returned to take charge of the Indian settlement in 1851, it was evidently a very different community from the one which he had handed over to John Smithurst in 1839. Commenting on the lack of the community's spiritual and economic growth during the period of Smithurst's term, Alexander Ross said "the period of ten years (1838-1849) which has elapsed has not much improved the Indian converts' condition, either temporally or spiritually."[55] There were in 1852, according to Cockran, 87 familires that would be considered as permanent settlers. As well, there were 80 children registered at the school.[56] At this time, Cockran wrote:

> everything in an impartial balance, we have no cause to complain of the progress of the children. Their opportunities and circumstances are such as to lead us to expect little...our schools produce none but hardy men, who can wage war with the bush, pull an oar...but at the book, the slate, or the pen our boys are heavy and listless.[57]

Only one year later, Cockran was beginning to express what may be described as a sense of futility at ever achieving what had been his goal--to Christianize and civilize the Indian--to make him "European". Cockran complained that "the Indians seem to carry with them the thoughtlessness of children to an extreme old age. This is what forms the principle of the burden of an Missionary's life amongst them."[58] At this time (1853) Cochran had been appointed Archdeacon of Assiniboia, and he had been transferred to St. John's.

From 1853 to 1856, details of missionary activity on the Indian settlement remain obscure with the general absence of comments regarding the settlement in the records of the Church Missionary Society. Cockran made the following observation about St. Peter's in July of that year:

> several families have gone on hunting excursions, and are now settled elsewhere. Many of our young men have entered the H.B. Company's service; some have migrated to the United States; and others to Oregon.[59]

It is possible that what Cockran noted in 1856 had been the trend in the intervening years. While Cockran's increased interest and responsibility with his charges at St.John's no doubt had some effect on his influence on the Indian settlement, it is much more likely that the settlements' members were responding to changing economic opportunities in the fur trade economy.

What has become apparent in examining the role and impact of the missionaries in the formation of the Indian settlement is that the settlement's members would make decisions and act independently of what the missionaries desired. This would appear to occur if the community's

members saw their choices as more beneficial or more congruent with past experiences, or perhaps more fundamentally, as in their best interests. In the eyes of the missionaries, the Indian settlement was a "failure" for it had not developed according to their agenda of a "civilized and Christian" community. It is apparent that the inhabitants' own cultural repertoire persisted in spite of the missionaries' challenges to it. It should be clear that while Cockran and the Church Missionary Society did provide certain services to the Indian settlement, the inhabitants' "agenda" also prevailed in the settlement.

Endnotes

[1]W.L.Morton, "The Red River Parish: Its Place in the Development of Manitoba". in R.C.Lodge, Editor, Manitoba Essays, p.91.

[2]Ibid., p.92.

[3]Ibid., p.92.

[4]Ibid., p.93.

[5]John West, The Substance of A Journal During a Residence at Red River Colony (London:1927) p.1.

[6]West, p.12.

[7]Records of the Church Missionary Society, Microfilmed copies from the Public Archives of Canada, lodged in the University of Alberta Library, Microforms Section, and comprising thirty-five reels.(hereinafter cited as CMS) Outgoing Correspondence, March 8, 1922 the Secretaries to West.

[8]John Elgin Foster, "The Anglican Church in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1826", (Unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of Alberta, 1972) p.36.

[9]West, p.2.

[10]These boys were part of a contingent that West took down with him to the Red River settlement. It is quite likely that their father was, at this time, part of a House Indian band attached to York Factory. See the discussion in Chapter Four of Withewecapo's activities which supports this.

[11]A discussion of the relationship of Peguis and his family to the Indian settlement ensues in Chapter Four, "Kin and Ethnicity in the Indian Settlement"

[12]West, p.115.

[13]John S. Galbraith, The Little Emperor, (Toronto: MacMillian of Canada, 1976) p.64. The nature of the conflict that ensued between John West and Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company is discussed in Foster, "The Anglican Church...." pp. 46-49.

[14]West, p.5.

[15]John West, quoted in T.C.Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies,(Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962)p.17.

[16]Cockran attempted to establish an agricultural settlement there, and also established a school in a small dwelling attached to his house. The first teacher at the school was W.R. Smith.

[17]This was a reserve by custom and not by law. It originated from an agreement that Lord Selkirk made with Peguis on July 18, 1817. In consideration of an annual payment of two hundred pounds of tobacco, the tract of land surrendered by Peguis was a strip about four miles wide,extending from the northern boundary of Manitoba at Lake Winnipeg, to the American border, with another strip of four miles width extending along the Assiniboine River to Rat Creek, near present-day Portage la Prairie. George Bryce, The Romantic Settlement of Lord Selkirk's Colonists, (Toronto:1909) For this land, Peguis received land at Sugar Point, as a "reserve". p.147.

[18]Cockran to CMS n.d., received October 20, 1832.

[19]Sarah Tucker, The Rainbow in the North (London: 1851) p.28.

[20]Cockran to the CMS, n.d., received October 20, 1832.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Cockran to the CMS, October 23, 1834.

[24]Bryce, p. 147.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Public Archives of Manitoba, Bay Company Archives Winnipeg. (hereinafter PAM, HBCA) PAM, HBCA, B.235/a/fo.13.

[27]PAM, HBCA, B.235/a/fos.23, 67.

[28]CMS, Cockran to the Secretaries, August (n.d.), 1832.

[29]CMS, Cockran to the Secretaries, July, 1834.

[30]Ibid.

[31]John Foster, "Some Questions and Perspectives on the Problem of Metis Roots" in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown, editors, The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America. (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1985) pp.81-82.

[32]CMS, Cockran to the Secretaries, July 24, 1834.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Cockran's Journal, November 26, 1837, cited in the Church Missionary Record for 1839, quoted in Michael Czuboka, "St.Peter's Dynevor: An Historical Study with Anthropological Observations of the Christian Aborigines of Red River, 1811-1876. (Unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of Manitoba, 1960.) p.48.

[35]Tucker, p.101.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Boon, p24.

[38]CMS, Cockran to the Secretaries, August 4, 1836

[39]CMS, Cockran to the Secretaries, July 24, 1834.

[40]Ibid., p.104.

[41]Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society (hereinafter PCMS) for 1837-1838, p.82, quoted in Czuboka, p.54.

[42]Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society,, 1838-1839, pp. 125-126, quoted in Boon, p.41.

[43]Smithurst's Letter Book for 1840, quoted in Czuboka, p.62

[44]Church Missionary Intelligencer for 1850, p.179,.quoted in Czuboka, p.59.

[45]Ibid. p.62.

[46]CMS, Smithurst's Journal, June 24,1840.

[47]Ibid., August 1840.

[48]These figures were calculated from the Registers of Baptisms, October 1839 to October 1852. cited in Czuboka, p.65.

[49]CMS, Smithurst's Journal, April, 1840.

[50]Cited in Czuboka, p.66.

[51]Church Missionary Records, 1842, p.288., quoted in Czuboka, p.70

[52]CMS, Smithurst's Journal, July 9, 1840.

[53]CMS, Smithurst to the CMS, n.d. 1840.

[54]Church Missionary Records, 1851, p.19.,quoted in Czuboka, p.70.

[55]Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State. Reprint. (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1972.) p.283. However, Cockran did press for the building of a new church, which was begun in October, 1852, and was built of stone. It was finally completed in 1854, and was named St.Peter's.

[56]CMS, Cockran to the Secretaries, July 205, 1856.

[57]Church Missionary Records for 1853, Bishop Mountain, p.19. quoted in Czuboka, p.79.

[58]Ibid., for 1854, p.10.

[59]CMS, Cockran to the Secretaries, July 25, 1856.

Chapter III

The missionary view of the inhabitants of the Indian settlement oscillated between enthusiastic responses to obvious signs of Christian evangelization and civilization and bitter disappointment when heathenism and primitivism reasserted themselves. The economic behaviour of the inhabitants was seen by the missionaries as haphazard and itinerant, characterized by a preference for Indian ways as opposed to a dedicated and disciplined pursuit of the agricultural ways of the European. The economic behaviour of the Indian settlement's inhabitants was not haphazard. It represented a knowledgeable assessement of circumstances and the most effectively productive use of their energies as they understood them in terms of their antecedents before coming to Red River.

Before arriving in Red River, many of the Indians of the village had had close relations with a particular post in the interior--they were in effect "House" Indians. The characteristics of their economy in the interior included the pattern of the males working at seasonal labour for the fur trade post. Males would engage in seasonal activities such as trapping, hunting and fishing as well as work as labourers and tripmen for the Hudson's Bay Company. If the pattern in the Fort Edmonton journals was widespread, the females could tend small gardens. Thus, while the trading post provided a focal point for the band's economic activity as it provided an outlet for the surplus production of the hunt, and of fishing, it also provided opportunities for marketing surplus labour by tripping from the post and labouring within the post itself. Wives of these men under contract could be utilized in

gardening, making pemmican and preparing clothing. Such bands placed a heavy economic emphasis on their various roles in association with the trading post.

The economic activities carried on within the Indian settlement were, in terms of the documentary record, primarily cultivation and the raising of livestock.[1] The possession of capital goods enumerated in the census records (carts, oxen, horses and canoes) could, however, be utilized in activities such as carting and freighting as well as hunting and fishing. There is evidence of the settlement's members participating in activities such as tripping and labouring for the Hudson's Bay Company as well as their own hunting and fishing. Evidence of the practise of these diverse economic activities should answer the question as to whether the economy of the Indian settlement was a "failure" or a "success" and whether its antecedents lay in the practises of Indians attached to fur trade posts in the interior.

An examination of agricultural activity in the Indian settlement focusses on acres under cultivation and livestock. A consideration of the potential for successful agriculture in the region of the Red River settlement, as a corollary for successful agriculture in the Indian settlement, must be taken into account. Natural hazards which would limit the productivity of agriculture included:

> frosts, floods, locusts...{and} droughts which occurred in the late thirties, throughout the forties. The cattle could not be wintered on the range. As a result, animals had to be sheltered and fed over the winter months on wild hay which was often short in supply.[2]

The potential for establishing a successful agricultural base in the Indian settlement was thus dependent as well on the factors of climate and geography, which could sabotage the efforts of the settlement's inhabitants.

Cultivated acres on the Indian settlement fluctuated somewhat from year to year; however, the trend was to a significant increase in the total number of acres cultivated from 1835 to 1856. The overall trend was to an increase in the number of acres cultivated for all families on the settlement.

Table 1
St. Peter's
Cultivated Acres

	1835	1838	1840	1843	1847	1849	1856
Total Acres Cultivated	18	5.5	86.5	200	*181	**190	***262
Total number of families	24	71	72	101	101	118	118
Number of families Cultivating	12	5	45	56	*50	**64	--
Average Acres for Families Cultivating	1.5	1.1	1.92	3.57	3.62	2.96	--
Average Acres Cultivated per total of all families	.75	.07	1.20	1.98	1.79	1.61	2.22

Notes: * Protestant Mission (30 acres) excluded.
** Reverend Smithurst (40 acres) excluded.
*** Protestant Mission(40 acres) excluded. The 1856 census, as summarized by Hind, did not list the number of families

cultivating, only the total number of families. It was a nominal census. The choice of years was determined by the availability of data from the census records of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Sources: HBCA E.5/8, E.5/9, E.5/10, E.5.11, E/5/12, and E.5/13. Great Britian. British Parliamentary Papers Relating to Canada, 1859:Colonies:22. "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country Between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement, H.Y.Hind.

The initial impression that the inhabitants of the Indian settlement differed from other communities in Red River, especially the neighbouring community of St. Andrews, in their adaptation to agriculture in Red River, is supported by the figures in Table 2.

Table 2
St. Andrew's
Cultivated Acres

	1835	1849	1856
Total Acres Cultivated	566	1366	1646
Total Number of Families	94	187	214
Average acres cultivated per family	6.02	7.3	7.7

Source: Gerhard J. Ens, "Kinship, Ethnicity, Class and the Red River metis: The Parishes of St.Francis Xavier and St. Andrews." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Edmonton: The University of Alberta, 1989.

A comparison of the figures in Tables 1 and 2 indicates that the inhabitants of St. Andrew's were far more involved in cultivation that those who resided in St. Peter's. This supports in part the suggestion that agriculture activity at St. Peter's was markedly different.

The figures from Table 1 suggest a duplication of the "gardens" that were an enduring characteristic of fur trade posts.[3] These small gardens were most likely tended by the women of the settlement, and this would be congruent with the activity of women who occasionally may have had experience tending gardens as members of an Indian band who had some attachment to a fur trade post. Of the twenty-four families in the settlement, thirteen were involved in cultivation. Its practice was, however, unevenly distributed. For example, seven heads of households cultivated two acres each, with the rest cultivating only one to one and one half acres.[4] By 1838 the settlement had grown in terms of numbers, and it might be expected that there would be a concomittant growth in the acres of cultivated land. Yet the total number of cultivated acres was reduced from eighteen in 1835 to five in 1838.[5] This figure was no doubt a function of the poor agricultural returns in Red River from 1836 to 1838.[6] 1836 was a particularly disastrous year.[7] In 1837 it was noted that "The wheat crop has failed. I have no expectation of getting more than seed again."[8] The drop in cultivated acres in the Indian settlement probably reflects a reduction in planting in response to the lack of success experienced in the previous two years. The Netley Creek settlement, however, was not totally dependent upon the strains of spring wheat which were grown in the area, as Indian corn was also planted. This Indian corn was apparently a staple in the settlement.[9]

Characteristic of a head of a household who was involved in cultivation was John Johnston.[10] His family's location in the Indian settlement was with a cluster of families who were also involved in agriculture.[11] Johnston, who was forty years of age in 1835,[12] was identified

as the "son of Indian parents from Norway House"[13] and had been living in the Indian settlement at least since November of 1834.[14] Certainly, the practice of agriculture was pivotal to the missionaries' plans for the Indian settlement, but for those like Johnston whose origins suggest a close affiliation with one particular post as an occasional servant or hunter, it is possible that such behaviour was an adaptation to circumstances in the settlement. Indian males such as Johnston who found themselves in a situation where cultivation was the most viable economic activity at that particular time could choose, with missionary assistance, to plant crops. Of the other community members involved in cultivating the two acre plots, ages ranged from forty to forty-five years.[15] It is thus possible that their "senior" years restricted their opportunities to engage in casual labour with the Hudson's Bay Company or the private merchants in Red River. As well, opportunities to work as tripmen in York boats would have been closed to them.

The Indian settlement, in the period from 1838 to 1840, experienced an increase in the numbers of acres cultivated. The total recorded was eighty-six and one half acres,[16] an increase of eighty-one acres from two years previously. This increase was coupled with a minimal increase in population in the intervening years. The total acreage under cultivation in 1843 increased to two hundred acres. James Cameron, a new community member who cultivated four acres, was an exception, but there was an increase in the acres cultivated by long standing community members such as George Sandison. In 1838, he had cultivated no acres, by 1840 he had cultivated one acre, and by 1843 his cultivated acreage had increased to three.[17] This trend to increasing

the acreage under cultivation per family continued. Thus by 1843 the total number of cultivated acres had increased slightly to 200.[18] As well, the Indian settlement had acquired a windmill which it would appear provided a source of power for a grinding mill. The mill would have acted as further encouragement to grain production. Also it provided income on an sporadic basis to one inhabitant, as John Tait was "paid out of petty cash for grinding."[19]

There is evidence to suggest that "the early forties were bad years for the fur trade."[20] As a result, the numbers of positions available within the system as seasonal wage-labour may have diminished.[21] In such circumstances, the Indian settlement's agricultural opportunities may have become more attractive. The pattern of cultivated land-holding associated with the male heads of households in the Indian settlement in 1843, indicates cultivation was fairly widespread. Of the fifty-six male heads of households listed,[22] only thirteen were not cultivating land. Since no ages were given for the heads of households who did not cultivate land, one can only speculate as to whether or not age was a factor in their decisions. As well, these men may have found that in their own particular case, the rewards from hunting or fishing were greater, or perhaps pursuing employment as labourers in the Red River settlement may have provided more sought after rewards.

A long time inhabitant of the Indian settlement who cultivated a significantly greater number of acres was William Bear. He cultivated twelve acres. Bear's name first appears on the census rolls in 1838, and at that time he cultivated only two acres. This number increased to five in 1843.[23] Although it is not possible to clearly define Bear's origins, it seems likely that

he had originated from the Norway House region. Other inhabitants of the Indian settlement who cultivated more than two or three acres were Joseph and John Johnston, who cultivated seven acres each, and William King(Peguis)[24] and Joseph Cockrane who each cultivated five acres.[25] In the case of both Johnstons, who were identified as Indians,[26] there is a tripling of acres cultivated from the 1840 figures. It is not possible to ascertain the age of Joseph Johnston, but by this time John would have been forty-eight. Their increased agricultural activity suggests that by 1847, they may have found opportunities as labourers and tripmen closed to them. As well, the rewards from farming may have increased. Perhaps both factors were operative in their decisions. What is also apparent is when making a conscious choice as to which economic activity to pursue, agriculture was the most advantageous one.

This trend toward increasing agricultural activity appeared to be general as by 1847, of the sixty-eight married males in the settlement, fifty-two were cultivating acreages.[27] Most of these, with the exception of those noted above, were holders of small plots of two to three acres. What is possible is that the care of these acres was the responsibility of the women to whom these men were married. Another pattern that evolved was that of young males, such as Henry Cockrane and John Stephenson, Jr. living with older males, even though the younger men were married. In the case of Henry Cockrane, who lived with Michel Cadotte, and John Stephenson,Jr. who lived with Samuel Stephenson, both of the men with whom the younger men resided cultivated larger than average acreages.[28] A shared household pattern is suggested. Perhaps both of the younger men were involved in

cultivating the plots to some extent. It is also likely that the men were related through marriage.

The trend toward increased participation in cultivation by the members of the Indian settlement is evidenced by the growth of cultivated acres in the Indian settlement. From 1847 to 1849, the increase was forty nine acres, while the number of heads of households in the settlement increased by fourteen,[29] indicating not only an increase in agricultural activity by those males who were long resident in the settlement, but also the readiness of newcomers to practise cultivation. By 1856, there was no increase in the number of families in the Indian settlement, but as noted in Table 1, the acres under cultivation had increased by seventy-two. What this may indicate is that other options, such as engaging in the illegal fur trade, were becoming less lucrative. In a more postive vein, it is possible that the presence of the English troops in the settlement provided opportunities emphasizing agriculture.

As the census of 1849 has data regarding age, it is possible to examine the correlation between age and the acreage cultivated. There appears to be no consistent pattern of increasing, or decreasing, cultivation tied to advancing age. Of the male members of the settlement whose ages can be identified, ages range from twenty-three to seventy-five years. Price Isham, at sixty years of age in 1849, is involved in cultivating one acre, while George Sandison, at fifty-five years cultivated three acres.[30] What is suggested is that these men, in order to support their families, were dependent on other activities, such as hunting and fishing.

Cultivation also apparently follows a family pattern. There were five married Fletts in the Indian settlement in 1849 - Peter, William, Richard, Philip and John.[31] Most likely they were kinsmen. Peter Flett had been in the Indian settlement since 1835 and had gradually increased the number of acres cultivated from one half in 1835 to four in 1849. In total, the Fletts cultivated twelve acres of land. The next family group who seem to follow this same pattern were the Kennedys. It would seem, given the data regarding their ages, that three of the Kennedys - Adam, Charles and Thomas are most likely brothers.[32] Between the three of them, there was a total of ten cultivated acres. The same sort of pattern is true for the Bear family, who held ten and one half acres amongst three men.[33] Another family following this same pattern was the Johnston family. In this case, four men - John, Joseph, Jeremiah, and James - held a total of twelve acres.[34] What seems to be indicated is the critical importance of "kin" relations influencing economic activity.

Several women were listed as heads of households. Widow Kennedy, Widow Isham, Widow Badger and Widow Hope, were identified as cultivating small plots of land. The observation was made "We see those women who spent their time in the Indian territory ...reaping their wheat ...hoeing their potatoes."[35] All of these women were listed in the previous census of 1838, but in that census there was no indication that they were cultivating land. As indicated by the 1840 census, the Widow Isham cultivated 2 1/2 acres, the Widow Badger 1 acre, the Widow Kennedy 1 1/2 acre and the Widow Hope, 2 1/2 acres.[36] In each case, these women had young children who may have been of an age to work the land. The acres

cultivated by these women, or with their children, may have been their principal means of support. There is not sufficient evidence to indicate whether their plots were cultivated by others, but in a community replete with so many kin, they may have had some help with maintaining the land. These women's activities were apparently similar to the practises of women at fur trade posts who worked in the gardens.

The census data indicates that some females may have been the heads of autonomous households by virture of their choice to cultivate land. One such female is Sally Bear. She lived with John Bear, and she was unmarried with one dependent son over the age of sixteen, and, according to the census, cultivated two acres.[37] Perhaps her son assumed primary responsibility for cultivation. Sophie McKay followed the same pattern of residing with others but also cultivating land. She is listed as being unmarried, but as a head of a household with two dependents. At the same time, she lived with the family of James Tait. While the possibility of a polygynous relationship exists, it is not possible to prove. Tait is married, and has five dependents of his own.[38] A possible explanation for these women's autonomous actions may be that they had had previous experience in maintaining households without the benefit of a consistent male presence. The behaviour encountered with some frequency among House Indians was describe by Reverend Cockran:

> The Hon. Company's servants seldom continue more than 3 years at the same post, and often only one.... ext time he leaves his winter quarters, he perhaps is sent to a post 600 or 1000 miles from all of his former wives.[39]

Such behaviour on behalf of the males allowed for, or perhaps necessitated, women's acting autonomously.

Small holdings amongst the males who were involved in cultivation was the norm. The smallest listed was one acre, the largest was three acres. Family size does not seem to have been a factor. For example, the household of Jacob Smith consisted of seven members, including himself, and yet the number of cultivated acres recorded is only one and one half.[40] On the other hand, John Thomas's household consisted of three members, and the cultivated acreage recorded was one.[41] In the case of a shared residence, combining the families of John and James Johnstone, six acres were cultivated for a collective household of ten persons.[42] On the other hand, there were the households of James Beardy and Walking Chief who, even with families of nine children each, cultivated no acres.[43] There seems to be no discernable pattern of household size relative to the number of acres cultivated. It would appear that those who did not choose to cultivate land had found other "work" more in line with their abilities and circumstances.

A complementary activity to cultivation was raising livestock. Livestock on the Indian settlement consisted of bulls, cows, calves, pigs, and sheep. The number and variety of livestock varied considerably over time.

Table 3
Livestock

	1835	1838	1840	1843	1847	1849	1856
Bulls	1	0	0	9	1	9	8
Cows	19	38	83	176	142	95	139
Calves	12	49	74	56	42	66	92
Pigs	4	8	0	73	62	7	155
Sheep	0	0	0	68	35	14	9

Source: HBCA E.5/8, E.5/9, E.5/10, E.5/11, E.5/12, E.5/13. Great Britain. British Parliamentary Papers Relating to Canada, 1859: Colonies:22. "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement." H.Y. Hind.

Since the distribution of livestock by household was not indicated, it is not possible to ascertain whether or not those who owned livestock, if indeed livestock was owned on an individual basis, were also those who were the most actively engaged in cultivation. It seems most likely that the livestock was held on a household basis. Two factors would account for this. The first is that it allowed responsibility and accountability in caring for the livestock; the second is that in the interior bands operated on the basis of households with benefits extended to the kinsmen. As noted in Table 3, there were fluctuations in the number of livestock in the settlement, but the overall trend was an increase. Given the failure of crops generally in 1836 in Red River, it is probable that some of the cultivated land was allowed to return to pasture. The increase in livestock on the settlement was obviously partly dependent on the need to feed the settlement's growing population.

Raising livestock may have been an activity in which the women on the settlement participated. That they did practise animal husbandry is evidenced in the comment "women who spent their time in the Indian territory are now milking their cows, attending their poultry, and rearing

their sheep."[44] There is no evidence to indicate that livestock on the Indian settlement was for anything else than the settlement's members' consumption.

The inhabitants of the Indian settlement could be expected to engage in hunting and fishing. As was noted in April øf 1839 " Hunting and fishing has enabled the people to obtain as much as is necessary to preserve life."[45] It appears that the Indian settlement provided a "grub stake" for the hunters. The comment was made in January of 1839 that "several of the Indians are going on their hunting excursion to where the Martins are and have taken a small stock of flour and fat with them."[46] What is not in evidence is what the successful hunters would do with the products of their hunt. Obviously, hunting in the last instance meant trapping, and it would be most likely that the pelts, in this case Martin, would be sold or bartered for needed items. Their trade may have been clandestine.

The presence of capital goods in the Indian settlement suggests that there may have existed economic activities such as carting in which the Indian settlement's members engaged.

Table 4
Capital Goods

	1835	1838	1840		1843	1847	1849	1856
Carts	-	5	10	29	35	25	24	-
Boats	-	-	-	1	1	1	3	-
Canoes	11	24	53	46	39	30	33	-
Oxen	9	38	52	146	136	64	160	-
Horses	-	1	5	23	44	42	21	-

Source: HBCA E.5/8, E.5/9, E.5/10, E.5/11, E.5/12. Great Britian. British Parliamentary Papers Relating to Canada, 1859: Colonies:22. "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement." H.Y Hind.

The extent to which carting for hire was an economic activity engaged in by the Indian settlement's members is difficult to ascertain. The increase in carts from 1835 to 1843 was from zero to twenty-nine, and in oxen from thirty-eight in 1838 to 146 by 1843.[47] Until 1847, ownership of capital goods is not differentiated by household. The records for both 1847 and 1849 divulge a random pattern of ownership of capital goods. Of the one hundred and one households in the settlement in 1847, approximately one quarter(twenty-four) are in possession of both carts and oxen. The pattern that prevails in 1849 is somewhat similar, with twenty-three of one hundred eighteen households possessing both carts and oxen.[48] Ownership of capital goods does not, for either 1847 or 1849 follow a pattern which would indicate kin relationships between those possessing carts and oxen. What is suggested is that there was participation in freighting. Given, however, the small number of carts, it seems likely that what carting was done was most likely on a very limited scale. There is no evidence to suggest that this constituted a source of income from the Hudson's Bay Company. Ownership of carts seems to follow a

family trend. An example would be the Flett family. All three married male members of that family who resided in the Indian settlement possessed carts. The same is true for James and Price Isham.[49] As well, cultivated acres for those three men totalled only five suggesting that other economic activities, possibly the summer or autumn buffalo hunt, were more lucrative.

There may also have been increased participation at some level in the buffalo hunt by the Indian settlement's members as indicated by the increase in carts which would have been used to haul home the "rewards" of the hunt. The extent to which this was a possibility is in part indicated by the following figures which demonstrate the tremendous increase in participation in the annual Red River buffalo hunt which might have afforded increased economic opportunities for the members of the Indian settlement. In 1820, 540 carts were part of the hunt, in 1825, 680, in 1830, 820, in 1835, 970, and in 1840, 1210.[50] As indicated in Table 4, the number of horses on the settlement in these years increased from one in 1838 to five in 1840. This minimal increase is not what might have been expected if the settlement's male inhabitants had been involved in running buffalo in any of the hunts. Their seeming lack of involvement in running buffalo may indicate that their previous experience in the context of a fur trade post had not prepared them to engage in this activity as hunters. But a few may have found employment on the hunt as carters and camp roustabouts.

Economic opportunities in which the members of the Indian settlement might be expected to participate would be tripping and labouring for the Hudson's Bay Company. The first of these activities, tripping, would have been an occupation congruent with their previous experience in the

interior. The extent to which tripping for the Hudson's Bay Company was an economic activity pursued by the members of the Indian settlement is difficult to establish as ""Minutes of Council give only a rough guide to the actual employment of Indian tripmen."[51] This "rough guide" is evidenced by entries such as "Cash paid to Indian trippers--15 pounds sterling."[52] There is, however, some scant evidence to suggest that some members of the Indian settlement did engage in tripping. George Sandison, John Spence and James Flett were all hired as tripmen.[53] Sandison made two trips as a steersman, for which he was paid 16 pounds, John Spence was hired as a middleman for 1 pound, and James Flett was recorded as having been tripping to Norway House. George Sutherland had been tripping to Oxford House.[54] John Kirkness tripped to the Saskatchewan,[55] and James Johnston tripped to Swan River.[56] William Badger was engaged as steersman in tripping to an unknown destination, for which he was paid 1 pound.[57] Thus while the historical record remains somewhat obscure with regard to the extent of the Indian settlement's members' participation in tripping for the Hudson's Bay Company, the impression remains that these men's participation was part of a more generalized activity.

There is also evidence to support the suggestion that some inhabitants of the Indian settlement were, at this time, engaged in other laboring outside of the settlement for the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company paid Thomas Thomas, Jr. for sawing planks, and John Bear was hired for six days in April, 1838 for which he was paid fifteen shillings by the Company.[58] Four men on the settlement, David Bear, John Johnstone, John Badger and John Bear were apparently selling lumber to the Hudson's Bay

Company at Lower Fort Garry in 1838.[59] Other "work" for which members of the Indian settlement were paid included 13 pounds 18 shillings to Peter Flett "for cutting a drainage ditch from the big Swamp to Rowlands,"[60] and James Sandison worked in the new church as a labourer.[61] Sandison's wages were not recorded. Philip Flett had worked at Lower Fort Garry labouring and "squaring wood".[62] John Flett was also labouring at Lower Fort Garry, "squaring wood and sawing."[63] The Fletts and Ishams may be representative of other families within settlement who at an earlier time had established a base for themselves near a trading post, venturing from it on their various economic pursuits. Thus the contention that the male heads of households pursued economic opportunities outside the Indian settlement is supported by the economic activities of those mentioned above. These individuals' experiences may be indicative of a more widespread pattern.

As well as labouring and tripping for the Hudson's Bay Company, males on the Indian settlement were also working for the private trader, William Inkster. These were Willian Prince, Samuel Henderson, and Peter Tait in 1849, John and William Badger and Thomas Stranger; Thomas Bear worked for Inkster in 1850, George Prince and William Sanderson in 1851, and Samuel Sinclair in 1852.[64] Between 1853 and 1857, Philip Flett and William Bear worked for Inkster as tripmen.[65] Neither the position which each occupied (ie, bowsman, middleman) nor the amount which these men were paid was recorded. These men's participation in Inkster's workforce indicated that they were both willing and able to take part in whatever opportunities were available. Since they were willing to act on the opportunities to work

for Inkster, it is suggested that these men were willing to work for other private traders as well.

Although after 1849 the same exacting details regarding the individual agricultural activities of the inhabitants of the Indian settlement are not avaiable as that year was the last of the detailed censuses conducted by the Hudson's Bay Company, the image emerging from other sources is the Indian settlement as a community whose members were increasingly drawn into a larger economic orbit. Two residents of the Indian settlement, William Flett and James Hope, found employment with the Company far afield from the Red River settlement. Flett had been in the Saskatchewan district, and James Hope had been with C.T. Rae on "an Edmonton expedition."[66] Since neither Flett nor Hope appears to have resided in the Indian settlement for any length of time,[67] it might be suggested that their perception of more lucrative employment with the Hudson's Bay Company became the choice over establishing a residence in the settlement. It appears that there were more "transient" members of the Indian settlement such as William Badger, whose residence in the Indian settlement can only be confirmed for the year 1849.[68] Badger had been tripping from York Factory in 1849 as part of the Lower Red River Outfit.[69]

While the need to range further afield may have eventually been a death knell for the Indian settlement, it reflected the economic astuteness on the part of those who under early circumstances may have either established residence there, or may have continued to maintain a "home base" in the settlement. Thus William Cockran's comment in 1856 that "several families have gone on hunting excursions and are now settled elsewhere. Many of

our young men have entered the H.B. Company's services."[70] Such behaviour may indeed have been detrimental to his goals in the settlement. However, what Cockran's comments suggest as well is that the inhabitants of the Indian settlment were following established practives as their economic activity had been characterized by flexibility and the ability to "seize the moment." The movement of males out of the Indian settlement to pursue more lucrative economic activity is to be seen therefore as a continuation of a pattern of positive responses to changing economic circumstances and opportunites in the fur trade economy.

What emerges from the foregoing discussion of economic activity in the Indian settlement is a demonstration of the complexity and rationality of the economic life of the Indian settlement's inhabitants, not the image suggested by the missionaries' accounts. A predominant pattern emerges. This pattern was residence in the Indian settlement by male heads of households on a transitory basis. The household was lodged in the Indian settlement with the women of the household practising what was more likely horticulture than agriculture. What is characteristic of this pattern is for the Indian settlement to serve much the same function as the fur trade post in providing a central place to lodge "family", allowing the males to seek opportunities, in this case employment, outside the settlement. As well, the women who were lodged in the Indian settlement appeared to excercise some autonomy in their economic lives. They too were able,it is suggested, to act on opportunies as they perceived them. The brief comparison with St. Andrew's suggests also that the inhabitants of the Indian settlement practised an economy significantly different from at least one other Red River

community. While the propensity of the community's members to stray from agriculture was no doubt vexatious to the missionaries, what is clear is that their adaptability and flexiblity in economic activities gave the community's members a certain autonomy. This also suggests a persistence of certain cultural practices. It should be clear that while Cockran, Smithurst and the Church Missionary Society did provide certain services to the Indian settlement, they decidedly did not shape the community--it had other antecedents.

Endnotes

[1]Public Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, (hereinafter cited as PAM, HBCA). Red River Censuses for the years 1835, 1838,1840,1843, 1847,1849. E.5/8, E.5/9, E.5/10, E.5/11, E.5/12, and E.5/13. These censuses recorded in a careful and meticulous fashion data about the Indian settlement's inhabitants. The information contained in these documents includes an enumeration of all the livestock, carts, boats, canoes, acreage cultivated, and dwellings, as well as enumerating the inhabitants of the Indian settlement. Information about the heads of households in the Indian settlement includes numbers of children, marital status of the head of household, and upon occasion, age of head of household. The one drawback to these documents is that they focus on heads of households, rather than naming individuals on the settlement separately.

[2]G.Herman Sprenger, "The Metis Nation: Buffalo Hunting vs. Agriculture in the Red River Settlement, circa 1810-1870" The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology Vol.III,No.1, 1972. pp. 162-165.

[3]W.L.Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony". Canadian Historical Review, 30(4) December, 1949. p.320.

[4]PAM, HBCA Red River Census 1835 E. 5/8/fo.22d.

[5]PAM, HBCA Red River Census, 1838. E.5/9/fo.40d.

[6]Morton, p.312

[7]Ibid. p.312.

[8]CMS, Cockran to Secretaries, August 24, 1837.

[9]Morton, p.312.

[10]PAM, HBCA Red River Census 1835 E.5/8 fo.22d.

[11]This pattern of residence can be derived from the fact that the census taker appeared to have followed a sequential, rather than a random pattern in enumerating the settlement, going from one end of the settlement to the other.

[12]PAM, HBCA Red River Census, 1835 E. 5/8/fo.22d.

[13]Diocese of Rupertsland Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba, (hereinafter cited as DRL), Register 3, Baptisms, Entry 40.

[14]DRL, Register of Marriages, Entry 282, November 4, 1834. John Johnston married Betsey, "an Indian woman."

[15]These were: Charles Cook, 45; Joseph Cameron, 40; William Hope (Withewcapo),45; George Flett, 40. HBCA E.5/8 fo.22d.

[16]PAM, HBCA Red River Census, 1840 E.5/10/fos.35-37d.

[17]Ibid., fos.35-37d.

[18]PAM, HBCA Red River Census, 1843 E.5/11/fo.35d.

[19]PAM, HBCA B303/d/99/fos.9-10.

[20]William Goldring, Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900. Volume I, Manuscript Report no. 362. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979. p.139.

[21]Ibid., p.138.

[22]PAM, HBCA E.5/11/fo.35-37d.

[23]PAM, HBCA E.5/11/fo.31d.

[24]"William King" was the name taken by Chief Peguis when he was baptized in 1844.

[25]PAM, HBCA E.5/12/fos.73, 75.

[26]CMS Cockran to the Secretaries, October 1938.

[27]E.5./12/fos.73-82d.

[28]Ibid. fos.73-82d.

[29]PAM, HBCA E.5/13/fos.41-46.

[30]Ibid., fo.43.

[31]Ibid., fo.43.

[32]Ibid., fo.44.

[33]Ibid., fo.42.

[34]Ibid., fo.43.

[35]CMS Cockran to the Secretaries, Nov.17, 1837.

[36]PAM, HBCA E.5/10/fos.35-37d.

[37]Ibid., fos.35-37d.

[38]Ibid., fos.35-37d.

[39]Cockran to the Secretaries, July 25, 1833.

[40]PAM, HBCA E.5/12/fo.73.

[41]Ibid., fos.73.

[42]PAM, HBCA E.5/10/fo.35.

[43]Ibid., fos.35-37.

[44]CMS Cockran to the Secretaries, November 17, 1837.

[45]CMS Cockran to the Secretaries, April 1839.

[46]CMS Cockran to the Secretaries, January 1839.

[47]Red River Censuses for 1838, 1840, and 1843. PAM, HBCA, E.5/9, E.5/10, E.5/11.

[48]PAM, HBCA E.5/13/fos.73-82.

[49]PAM, HBCA E.5/13 fo.43.

[50]Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State. Reprint Edition. (Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1972.) p.246.

[51]Goldring, p.138.

[52]PAM, HBCA B/235/d/90/fo.12d.

[53]PAM, HBCA B/235/d/fo.1d.

[54]PAM, HBCA B/235/d/152/fo.7.

[55]PAM, HBCA B/235/d/134/fo.90.

[56]PAM, HBCA B/235/d/115.

[57]PAM, HBCA B/235/Z.

[58]PAM, HBCA Lower Fort Garry Account Books, General and Petty Cash. B.303/d/99 fo.12.

[59]Ibid., fo.12.

[60]PAM, HBCA B/235/d/60/fo.3.

[61]PAM, HBCA B/235/d/60/fo.73.

[62]PAM, HBCA B/303/d/fo.11.

[63]Ibid., fo.11.

[64]PAC, Inkster Papers, MG19, E7, Vol.5.

[65]Ibid.

[66]PAM, HBCA B.235/z/2/fo.11d.

[67]Flett's residence in the settlement can only be confirmed for 1843. PAM, HBCA E.5/11/FO.31d. James Hope's residence can only be confirmed for 1847. HBCA E.5/12/fo.73.

[68]PAM, HBCA E./13/fo.42d.

[69]PAM, HBCA B.235/z/2/fo.189.

[70]CMS, Cockran to the Secretaries, July 25, 1856.

Chapter IV

An examination of missionary involvement in the Indian settlement has pointed out the limitations of the view that the missionaries were solely responsible for the development and continuing existence of that community. It became evident that the community's members, more so than the missionaries, were instrumental in establishing and maintaining the Indian settlement as a community. The discussion of economic activities in the Indian settlement has identified those activities as House Indian in nature. That many who eventually established residence in the Indian settlement had shared places of residence in the interior is suggested by Alexander Ross's observation.

> At the period of the coalition between the two rival fur companies many of their servants and hangers on were turned adrift, and not a few of these had formed connections with the native women. These persons, on coming to Red River with their families, left their Indian relatives behind; ...From time to time, these friendly Indians have visited and sojourned for a short time in the settlement; but it was not till the present year [1833?] that any Swampy took up his abode in the colony.[1]

In his reference to the servants' "connections with native women", Ross's comments suggest House Indian origins for the Indian settlement's members. They also raise questions as to the nature of kinship and ethnicity in the Indian settlement.

This chapter argues that a House Indian mode of adaptation to cultural circumstances was shared by the members of the Indian settlement. House

Indian social behaviour which might be expected to manifest itself in the behaviour of individuals and families in the Indian settlement would be derived from the practises of House Indian bands in the interior. The structure of House Indian family organization was characterized by a male who established a family within the House Indian band, but was frequently absent from the band to pursue opportunities within the fur trade economy.[2] The sporadic nature of many of the economic opportunities for the males contributed to their necessary absence from the band. Thus, the female within the family unit was left to tend to progeny and garden, and to provide a focal point for the family. Within this context, kin ties both within the band and with other House Indian bands were necessary for survival. This pattern of adaptation characterized both the Swampy Cree and Saulteaux who made up the settlement, and raises the question of the role of ethnicity in the maintenance of the community. The question of ethnicity involves a consideration of the Saulteaux response to the majority Cree presence in the Indian settlement. These questions are addressed through examinine marriage patterns and constructing lives of individuals.

The main challenge to the argument that the Indian settlement was characterized by House Indian social and economic behaviour is the suggestion that the origins of the Indian settlement lay not primarily with the Swampy Cree, but with a band of Saulteaux led by Chief Peguis.[3] Historical evidence indicates that Peguis arrived in the region of the Red River settlement sometime in the latter part of the 1790's.[4] It appears that Peguis and his band came from the region of Sault Ste. Marie. It is noted that "Peter Fidler argued that numerous Saulteaux from between Rainy Lake and Lake

Superior had tended to follow the Nor'Westers into Manitoba from the 1790's on."[5] As noted previously, Peguis' contact with the Reverend West began in 1822 and eventually led to William Cockran's perception that this particular band of Saulteaux who were camped at Netley Creek would be most receptive of his efforts.[6] Peguis's band clearly did not have origins which could be identified as "House Indian." They were a hunting band who did not share the cultural practises of natives attached to fur trade posts. It was at a later date that "House" Cree, those whom Ross identified, migrated to Red River. By the latter part of the 1830's, the time when the Indian settlement was beginning to take on its defining characteristics, the Cree had become the majority element at the Indian settlement.

The number of the Indian settlement's inhabitants who were identified as either Cree or Saulteaux can be determined with some accuracy only for the period from 1839 to 1851. It was only with the Reverend John Smithurst's tenure in the Indian settlement that the ethnic identity of individuals was recorded in the records of marriages, burials and baptisms at the Indian Church.[7] In this period, there were eighty-four community members who were identified as Saulteaux, and one hundred eighty-nine as Cree.[8] If these figures were representative of the prevailing mix in the settlement, then approximately three quarters of the community's members were Cree, and one quarter were Saulteaux.

As well, it is possible to associate specific family names with either the "Cree" or "Saulteaux". Names common to those identified as Cree were Bear, Badger, Cockrane, Johnstone, Stevenson, Thomas, Sutherland, Isham, Whitford, Sinclair, Sandison, Williams, Turner (usually Turnor), Kennedy,

Garrioch and Halcro.[9] While the latter three names are identified as belonging to "Country-born" families, the descriptor beside them in the St.Peter's register identifies them as Cree. Names identified as Saulteaux were Flett, Spence, Smith, Henderson, Asham, (appears as a distinctive name from Isham and does not appear to be just a spelling variation) King, Prince and Cameron.[10] As well as identifying Cree and Saulteaux, certain names are identifed as "halfbreed". These were Cadotte, Kirkness, Parisienne, Sanders, and the family of William Flett.[11] Thus the initial impression generated by Smithurst's data is that the community was organized along ethnic lines. An examination of marriage patterns in the Indian settlement should show the extent to which these ethnic "boundaries" were as clear-cut to the members of the Indian settlement as Smithurst suggested they were.

Marriages conducted in the Indian settlement from 1841-1850, the period for which specific data is available, suggest that identification as Cree, Saulteaux or Halfbreed was not a critical factor in choice of marriage partners.

Table 5
Marriage Patterns: 1841-1850

	Total Number of Marriages:	Percent of Total Marriages
Cree Male/ Female	24	(50%)
Saulteaux Male/Female	7	(14%)
Cree Male/Saulteaux Female	0	(0%)
Saulteaux Male/Cree Female	7	14%)
Halfbreed Male/Cree Female	5	(11%)
Halfbreed Female/Cree Male	5	(11%)

Note: There were no marriages between Saulteaux, either male or female, and "Halfbreeds".
Source: PAM, HBCA, E/4/2/fos.10d, 11, 20d, 21, 21d, 95, 50d, 57d, 64d, 71d.

Marriages conducted between individuals who were both identified as Cree are the prevailing pattern. This would be the expected outcome in a community in which three quarters of the residents were Cree. What is somewhat surprising is the fact that no male Cree chose Saulteaux females as marriage partners. A possible explanation is that the Cree males did not preceive Saulteaux females as having the skills necessary to succeed in the Indian settlement in Red River. Among these skills would have been those associated with gardening and animal husbandry. A Saulteaux female from a "hunting band" would have thus been less "desirable" in the context of a "House Indian" way of life. Also noteworthy is the fact that Saulteaux males would choose Cree females. It is suggested that the Saulteaux males involved

in these "mixed" marriages were most successful in adopting House Indian cultural practices and that they were aware of the economic attributes of House Indian females. Intermarriage would also establish cross-ethnic kin linkages. A possible conclusion is that intermarriage indicated the adaptation of some of the Saulteaux in the Indian settlement to cultural practises of the recent Cree immigrants. This development would suggest that Cree adaption in Red River was preceived by the participants as more successful. As these Cree appear to be House Indians, it was their ways which were proving successful.

The suggestion that a House Indian mode of adaption to cultural circumstances in the Indian settlement would over-ride both ethnic considerations and previous cultural practises is supported by actions of the family of the previously mentioned Saulteaux chief, Peguis.[12] By the time Peguis had settled permanently in the Indian settlement in 1838, he was approximately sixty-five years of age and it is likely that his advancing age made him dependent upon the mission and his family for survival. By 1838, he had assumed the name of "William King" on the occasion of his baptism that same year.[13] On October 7 of 1840, he married his "reputed" wife Victoria.[14] From 1838 on, Peguis maintained the Indian settlement as his home base, as his residence can be confirmed there until 1852. His two sons, John, "Long Jake", and Henry were baptised with the surname Prince, which Peguis apparently felt was appropriate for the children of a "King", but on occasion were known by the surname "King" as well.[15]

Peguis's son, Henry Prince, and Prince's son, William, remained in the Indian settlement, and evidence suggests that they apparently adopted House

Indian cultural practises. Henry Prince married his "reputed" wife, Sarah Badger, in October of 1840.[16] "Badger" was a surname identifed as Cree and House Indian in origin.[17] This clearly established Prince's kinship with a family who were part of a House Indian band. Henry Prince remained in the Indian settlement until he signed Treaty One in 1871.[18] In 1849, Henry's son William was twenty-two.[19] At this time, William was married, and his wife Mary was identified as Saulteaux.[20] Also residing in the Indian settlement was George Prince. He was twenty-four in 1849.[21] It is not clear from the historical record whether George Prince was another of Peguis's sons, a possibility which seems likely.[22]

Patterns of economic activity among the members of the King family in the settlement suggest an adaptation to "House Indian" cultural practises. In total, the King family, beginning with William, Henry, his son William, and including George, cultivated an average of 5.9 acres for the four households involved, or 1.47 acres per household for the years from 1840 to 1849.[23] The small amount of land cultivated indicates that these were "gardens", most likely tended by the women of the households. The horticulture practised by the King households was apparently supplemented by other economic activity such as the tripping which William Prince did for William Inkster in 1849.[24] George Prince was also involved in working for Inkster in 1851.[25] The combination of horticulture with evidence of the male members of the King family working outside the Indian settlement is congruent with the activities of members of a House Indian band. Thus, actions of Peguis's son and grandson while they resided in the Indian

settlement strongly suggests that they had adapted to House Indian cultural practises .

Peguis' behavior and the behavior of his son and grandsons may be seen as behavior which one might expect to have been replicated by other Saulteaux in the Indian settlement. The actions of Peguis and his progeny who remained in the Indian settlement may be understood in the context of the rapid changes occurring in the Red River region beginning with the appearance of Lord Selkirk's settlers in 1812 to establish a settled agricultural community. The changes in fur trade society that occurred with the merger of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 and the establishment of the missionary presence in the Red River settlement were circumstances with which Peguis, as a member of a hunting band, had to deal. Thus Peguis and his family members' adaptation to these changed circumstances may be described as House Indian in nature, replacing a hunting band way of life which was no longer viable within the context of the Red River settlement. As Peguis's family had adapted House Indian cultural practices and forged kin ties to ensure its survival in the face of changing circumstances in the fur trade and in Red River, other families whose cultural antecedents clearly suggest House Indian origins would also

A family who established residence in the Indian settlement and who can be identified as having had connections with a fur trade post is the Badger family. The Badger family was identified as "Muscaigo"--synonymous with Swampy Cree--from the region of Norway House.[26] This family began to persist in the Indian settlement, from, as evidenced by the establishment of households, 1835.[27] At that time, there were two families, those of Thomas

and James Badger, both of which were later identified among the eighty-five families in the settlement in 1852.[28] It is possible to suggest some patterns of kinship by patterns of residence. For example, the families of Thomas and James Badger shared one house, with a total family of fourteen individuals.[29] Since there are no ages noted for either of these individuals, it is only possible to suggest, based on the ages of the children, that this was a household comprised of brothers. Thomas Badger's family was three sons and five daughters under the age of sixteen years.[30] Thomas' family consisted of his wife who is identified as Mary, and the children of that marriage who can be identified: Nancy, Sally, Betsey and Harriet.[31]

Neither Thomas nor James Badger were involved in the cultivation of land in 1835 at the Indian settlement. Evidence suggests that they may have been lodged at Oxford House on a cyclical basis.[32] This suggests tripping as a possible activity; however, the historical records do not substantiate this. The pattern of movement between the Indian settlement and Oxford House is significant in that, as well as indicating possible economic activity, it suggests that the Badger family may well have been previously part of a House Indian band attached to the post there. The Badger family became permanent residents in the Indian settlement, having grown to five households with that surname in the settlement by 1838.[33] In 1847 John Badger, had resided in the settlement since 1838, had married Catherine Smith in the Indian settlement, and remained to establish a residence and family there.[34] The family remained in the Indian settlement until at least 1852. Marriage between the Badger family members and other families on the Indian settlement would continue to forge kin linkages and contribute to the

perpetuation of House Indian cultural practises in the Indian settlement. The origins of the Badger family, which establish it as a House Indian family, and its persistence in the Indian settlement suggest that they were successful in adapting previous House Indian cultural practises to the context of the Indian settlement.

Another individual whose family history and cultural practises suggest House Indian origins is that of William Hope. Hope's residence in the Indian settlement was sporadic, which suggests that he may have been away from the settlement to engage in tripping or labouring. Although the first references in the literature had identified William Hope as "Withewecapo" when he was contacted at York Factory in September of 1820 by Reverend John West, other evidence suggests that he was a known entity prior to that time. Most likely he was involved in trapping or hunting in the region of Norway House, as it was noted on December 24, 1818 that "Two Indians, Witheweecapo and Pechewe arrived today."[35] Historical record does not supply evidence about Withewacapo's whereabouts between that time and 1820. He would have been about thirty years of age when contacted by West in 1820, and it is most likely that he had continued as part of the Cree Indian population that ranged between York and Norway House.[36] Unfortunately, historical record does not yield information about William Hope's activities between his encounter with West, and his baptism in 1834. Withewacapo had been baptized on October 1, 1834 as "William Hope" and was married on October 22 of the same year to Catherine, "an Indian".[37] It is quite likely that the couple was merely "legitimatizing" a long-standing relationship, rather than a new relationship. Given his past activities, it seems quite likely that he

was part of a House Indian band attached to York Factory. He may also have been tripping on what were known as the Norway House brigades.[38]

William Hope is listed as an inhabitant of the Indian settlement in the census of 1835. At the time of his residence in the Indian settlement in 1835, he was forty-five years of age, and cultivated two acres of land. [39] There is no evidence, however, to suggest that he had been engaged in casual labor for the Hudson's Bay Company or in tripping for independent freighters. Hope's household was enumerated as two sons and four daughters under the age of sixteen. It is quite likely that one of these sons was Thomas; the identity of the daughters is not clear. Hope's residence in the Indian settlement was not permanent, as his name was absent from the census rolls until 1849. This suggests that he may have returned to work on the brigades from York Factory, as in that year he was married a second time to "Betsey, an Indian his reputed wife" at York Factory on August 28 of 1849, and at this time he was known also as "Joseph Baptiste".[40] Since the record of the marriage notes his other name as "Withewecapo", it is almost certain that this is the previously known "William Hope".[41] One can only speculate as to why he would have acquired a third identity. Since the historical record does not provide information as to what Hope was doing in the interim, it is likely that he continued to hunt and trap between Norway House and York Factory. As "Hope" became a persistent surname in the Indian settlement, it is likely that there were familial connections. Joseph Hope and Widow Hope resided in the Indian settlement from 1835 to 1852.[42] It is most likely that Joseph is the other son identified as being under sixteen in 1835 as he is twenty six in 1849.[43] The fate of Thomas Hope is not known; he did not become a resident

of the Indian settlement. It is not possible to identify who Widow Hope was. She may have been the widow of yet another of William Hope's sons or the widow of William.

An "addendum" to the discussion of the Hope family is that, as father and head of family, William Hope's migration followed that of his sons. When John West left York Factory to go inland in 1820, he had brought with him two young boys identified as "sons of a York Factory Indian, Withewecapo."[44] Withewecapo's first son's baptism in the Red River settlement at St. John's as "James Hope" in 1822 was followed by the baptism of another son, John in March of 1823.[45] What is interesting is that neither James, John, nor Thomas Hope settled as adults in the Indian settlement. John and James became missionaries for the Church Missionary Society and travelled into the Mackenzie River District.[46] The life history of William Hope seems to confirm his "House Indian" origins. Hope's absences may also suggest that, even though it is not possible to confirm his employment with the Hudson's Bay Company as a tripman, he may have been so engaged. His return to York Factory suggests this. Thus the Indian settlement did provide a place for him to lodge family and thus fulfilled the same role as a fur trade post would for House Indian families attached to it.

Another individual whose origins were House Indian and whose adaptation to the Indian settlement may be described as House Indian in nature was George Settee. Settee was identified as "an Indian from the Muscaigo country", who married Margaret, "also an Indian woman."[47] Their marriage was obviously making official a union that had existed for some time as when their son John's baptism was recorded in 1827, both were

listed at parents.[48] From 1826 to 1827, George had been Post Master at Netley Creek.[49] George Settee's activities before his employment at Netley Creek cannot be determined with certainty. That he was identified as an "Indian from the Muscaigo country" suggests a point of origin in the region between York Factory and Norway House. Quite likely he was attached to a post. The fact that Settee was employed at Netley Creek at the level of Post Master, the highest rank achieved by Indians in the Hudson's Bay Company's service at this time, suggests much about his antecedents and his abilities.

By the time George Settee had moved to the Indian settlement in 1833, he had two younger sons and one younger daughter. Another son, James, had been brought to the Indian school at Red River settlement in 1823.[50] By 1835, he had taken up residence in the Indian settlement. At this time, James was twenty years of age and had married Sarah Cook in that same year.[51]. There was as well one other older son, John, who can be identified specifically.[52] His fate is not known. James's residence in the Indian settlement can be confirmed only until 1838.[53] George Settee, however, remained in the Indian settlement for the rest of his life. During his tenure in the Indian settlement, Settee cultivated three acres; however, there is no evidence to suggest that he was employed on a casual basis by the Hudson's Bay Company.[54] Settee died in 1848 or early in 1849 as by the 1849 census only a "Widow Settee" remained on the settlement, continuing to cultivate three acres.[55] In this case, residence in the Indian settlement may be viewed as adaptation of previous House Indian practisès whereby members of such bands would remain "attached" to the house as age and infirmity set in.

The impression that the Indian settlement's members shared both origins as House Indians and a growing kin network is substantiated in part with the history of the Stranger and Bear families. These were apparently the families about whom it was noted:

> for several years, many Cree-Indian families, from between Hudson's Bay and Cumberland House have been drifting to the Settlement, having connections there among the half-castes and others.[56]

Stranger first became a matter of record with his baptism in 1832,[57] and secondly with his marriage to Nancy Bear on August 22 of 1832.[58] By the time of the 1835 census, the family also included two children. The census of 1835 records three separate heads of families with this name: Jacob, John, and David.[59] It is likely, however, that Thomas Bear "an Indian from Cumberland House"[60] was the brother of the previously mentioned family heads, and was connected to Robert Stranger through both place (Cumberland House) and marriage (Robert Stranger to Nancy Bear). These kin linkages apparently strengthened ties to the Indian settlement. The pattern that was previously identified in the literature "for several years, many cree-Indian [sic] families from between Hudson's Bay and Cumberland House have been drifting to the settlement,"[61] is demonstrated by the action of the Bear and Stranger families at least. In the case of Robert Stranger, his link with Cumberland House is certain.

The persistence of the idea that many of the males who came to reside in the Indian settlement had previous experience in a House Indian context is supported the biography of James Isham. The nature of James's adaptation to

the Indian settlement reflects House Indian antecedents. James Isham's House Indian origins are through Thomas Charles Isham, who had been at Norway House in 1797 as Post Master.[62] It was likely that Isham formed a connection with a native woman, and had a native family with her. One of their offspring was a native son, Thomas, whose actions suggest a close affliation with the neighbouring House Indian band. The following comment, made in 1819, support this: "Two Indians, Thomas Isham and Pettawow arrived with a few furs."[63] Evidence to support this conclusion is derived from the fact that, at the time of his baptism, he was identified as "Thomas Isham, an adult halfbreed".[64] Thomas Isham was evidently attached to Norway House as his visits there were frequent. In December of 1820, it was noted that "Thomas Isham and family arrived from Jack River"[65] and in 1821, "Thomas Isham 'who is gone to tent with the Indians to trap Martins' to pay his debt contracted at Oxford House has left his wife and child at the House [Norway] to be supported."[66] Isham's behaviour mirrors the previously defined practises of males in House Indian bands. In 1832, Thomas Isham married "Nancy, an Indian his reputed wife"[67] apparently making "legal" a union that had existed for some time. James Isham was a son of Thomas and Nancy.[68]

James Isham's residence in the Indian settlement can only be confirmed for the years 1838, 1847 and 1849.[69] Isham may have been working for private traders, although the historical record does not confirm this. His participation in cultivation was minimal, ranging from no acres in 1838[70] to two and one half acres in 1849.[71] This pattern of minimal participation in cultivation and occasional residence in the Indian settlement suggests that

Isham was seeking his livelihood elsewhere. When he was "resident" in the settlement, he may have lodged his family there while he pursued economic opportunities outside of it, perhaps tripping and trapping for private traders. While he was resident in the Indian settlement, Isham did work for the Hudson's Bay Company on two occasions. He was paid by the Company for chopping wood[72] and 11 pounds sterling for another unspecified activity.[73] Isham's pattern of sporadic residence in the Indian settlement, evidence of at least some work for the Hudson's Bay Company and the possible participation in tripping or trapping for private traders mimicked the cultural practises of males in House Indian bands.

The foregoing discussion of marriage and residence patterns, kin linkages, ethnicity and points of origin suggests certain conclusions. The first of these is the extent to which the Indian settlement became a settlement of shared cultural practises. For those individuals whose origins were clearly linked with a fur trade post, which suggests membership in a House Indian band, residence in the Indian settlement provided the focus formerly accorded the fur trade post. Furthermore, it appears that the importance of the Cree-Saulteaux "split" in the Indian settlement was nominalized through intermarriage. Shared cultural practises over-rode ethnic considerations. Thus the distinctions between "Cree", "Saulteaux" and even "Halfbreed" appear to have had less importance than an over-arching identification with and adapation to a House Indian lifeway. The notion of cultural peristence seems useful in explaining the prevalence of House Indian cultural practises in the Indian settlement. It seems reasonable to conclude that the Indian settlement was a community whose members shared cultural practises which

could be identified as House Indian and which, more than any other factor, contributed to their residence in the Indian settlement. These House Indian origins and modes of adaptation gave the Indian settlement a unique identity in Red River.

Endnotes

[1]Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement:Its Rise, Progress, and Present State. Reprint Edition (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1972. p.276.

[2]House Indian behaviour is described in John Foster, "Paulet-Paul-Metis or 'House Indian' Folk Hero?". Manitoba History, 7, Spring, 1985. pp.2-7. and "The Home Guard Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company: The First One Hundred Years". in Approaches to Native History. Edited by D.A.Muise. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Historical Division Paper 25. Ottawa: 1975.

[3]Michael Peter Czuboka, "St.Peter's: An Historical Study with Anthropological Observations on the Christian Aborigines of Red River, (1811-1876)". Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960. Czuboka argues this point in Chapters 1 and 2.

[4]Albert Edward Thompson, Peguis and His Descendants, (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1973.) p.3.

[5]Jennifer Brown, "Northern Algonquin from Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay to Manitoba in the Historic Period." in Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience. Edited by R. Bruce Morrison and Roderick Wilson. (Toronto: MacClelland and Stewart, 1986.) p. 208.

[6]See Chapter Two.

[7]This set of records duplicates the records kept as St. Peter Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1840-1877, Diocese of Rupert's Land Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba. (hereinafter DRL)

[8]Reverend Smithurst's private register of Births, Marriages, and Deaths at St.Peter's, lodged in PAM, HBCA, E.4/1a/fos. 174, 175, E.4/2/fos.8,9d-10d, 20-21d, 42, 57, 64, 71.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid. A problem obviously arose in "labelling" an individual who was product of a "mixed" marriage, perhaps between a Cree and a Saulteaux, or between either Cree or Saulteaux and one identified as "halfbreed". Smithurst's choice may have been quite arbitrary.

[12]See Chapter Three.

[13]Boon, p. 48 Peguis, in 1833, was living in the Indian settlement; however, his whereabouts between that time and 1838, at which time he again takes up residence in the settlement is not known. It is quite likely that he may have been involved in trapping at this time, as "[he] was heavily in debt, over drawn at the trading post to the amount of three hundred muskrat skins." He would have been approximately sixty years of age at that time. Thompson, p.24.

[14]Boon, p.48.

[15]PAM, HBCA, E.5/11-13.

[16]Boon, p.48.

[17]Henry's eldest son, Joseph, died at an early age, and his other son, John, or "Long Jake" was a signator of the treaty of 1871. Thompson, p.35.

[18] Ibid., p.34.

[19]PAM, HBCA, E.5/13/fos.44,44d.

[20]PAM, HBCA, E.2/fo.71d.

[21]PAM, HBCA, E./5/13/fo.44.

[22]Boon, p.44 and Thompson, p.31.

[23]PAM, HBCA, E./5/10, 11,and 13.

[24]PAC, Inkster Papers, MG19, E7, Vol.5.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Further evidence that the Badger family had origins in a House Indian band is suggested in the information recorded with the baptism of Ann Badger in 1836. At her baptism, she was identified as "the daughter of an Orkneyman and an Indian woman." DRL, Register of Baptisms, Register No. 2, Entry 107. Unfortunately, historical record does not reveal more information about Ann Badger.

[27]HBCA, E./5/8/fo.22d.

[28]List of Heads of Families in the Indian Settlement. CMS, Cockran to the Secretaries, October 6, 1852.

[29]PAM, HBCA, E.5/8/fo.22d.

[30]Ibid.

[31]DRL, Register of Baptisms, Register No.2, Entries 44, 49, 50, 51.

[32]This conclusion is derived from the fact that the baptisms recorded above were performed at Oxford House in December of 1835, while at the time of the census, spring 1835, the family was residing in the Indian settlement.

[33]HBCA, E.5/9/fo.38.

[34]HBCA, E.4/2/fo.57d. Both were identified as Cree.

[35]HBCA, B.154/a/3/fo.8d.

[36]His age is reckoned from the information that he was forty-five at the time of the 1835 Census. HBCA, E.5/8/fo.22d.

[37]DRL, Register of Marriages, Register No.2, Entry 280.

[38]"An indispensable link in the transport system was the set of Indian brigades based in Norway House, Oxford House and York Factory. By 1844, Indian seasonal freighters were carrying more goods to the edge of Lake Winnipeg than the total demand of all six districts above the mouth of the Saskatchewan." Philip Goldring, Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900. Volume I, Manuscript Report no. 362. (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979.)

[39]HBCA, E.5/8/fo.22d.

[40]DRL, 84-33, Register of Marriages.

[41]Ibid.

[42]HBCA, E.5/9/fo.37d and CMS, "List of Heads of Families in the Indian settlement," October 6, 1852.

[43]HBCA, E.5/13/fo.42d.

[44]John West, The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at Red River Colony. (London: 1927.) p. 20.

[45]DRL, Register of Baptisms, Schedule A, 1822, 1823.

[46]T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962) p. 204.

[47]DRL, Register 3, Marriages, Entry 479.

[48]DRL, Register 3, Baptisms, Entry 589.

[49]PAM, HBCA, B.154/a/Z, B.154/a/3.

[50]Boon, p.36.

[51]DRL, Register of Marriages, Entry 290, January 7, 1835.

[52]DRL, Register 1, Baptisms, entry 589.

[53]PAM, HBCA, E.5/9/fo.39d. He became a native catechist for the Anglican Church, served at Lac la Ronge, was ordained in 1853, and "became known as the 'great intinerant' for his service in the country between the Saskatchewn and Qu'Appelle Rivers." Boon, pp. 36,66,85.

[54]PAM, HBCA, E.5/9/fo.39d., E.5/10/35d., E.5/11/33d., E.5/12/fo.77d.

[55]E/5/13/fo.45d.

[56]Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1832-33, p.64, quoted in Michael Czuboka,"St.Peter's: An Historical Study with Anthropological Oberservations on the Christian Aborigines of Red River (1811-1876)". (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of History, University of Manitoba, 1960) p.12.

[57]DRL, Register of Baptisms, Register 3, Entry 370.
[58]DRL, Register of Marriages, Entry 240.

[59]PAM, HBCA, E.5/8/fo.22d.

[60]DRL, Register of Marrianges, Entry 256, April 3, 1833.

[61]Ross, p. 276.

[62]PAM, HBCA, E.5/9/fo.38d.

[63]PAM, HBCA, B.154/a/fo.15d.

[64]PAM, HBCA, B.154/a/6.

65DRL, Baptism Register 1, Entry 378.

[66]HBCA, B.154/a/6.

[67]HBCA, B.154/a/8/fo.19.

[68]HBCA, DRL, Register of Marriages, Register 1, Entry 24.

[69]DRL, Register of Baptisms, Register 2, 1836.

[70]PAM, HBCA, E.5/9/fo.38d., E.5/12/fo.42d., E.5/13/fo.47d.

[71]PAM, HBCA, E.5/9/fo.38d.

[72]PAM, HBCA, E.5/13/fo.47d.

[73]PAM, HBCA, B/303/d/128, Petty Cash'Blotter.

[74]PAM, HBCA, B/235/d/fo.44d.

Chapter V

In the period from 1833 to 1856 the Indian settlement existed as a community distinct from other mixed-blood communities in Red River, primarily because the majority of its members shared cultural practices which were identified as being House Indian. Those who chose to reside in the Indian settlement were particularly skillful at adapting previous House Indian practises to exploit the economic opportunities available in Red River. Furthermore, those members of the Indian settlement who did not share the cultural experiences of the House Indian members of the community, that is, the Saulteaux who were a minority element in the settlement, duplicated the adaptive stategies of those whose cultural antecents could be defined as House Indian. This cultural adaptation on the part of the "hunting" Saulteaux suggests the greater efficacy of House Indian ways in the context of Red River.

From an examination of missionary activity on the Indian settlement, it is apparent that the members of the Indian settlement would accept the aid of the missionaries to the extent that it advanced the cause of either the settlement as a whole or of an individual member of the settlement. The settlement's inhabitants were opportunistic in that they would accept from the missionary only what they believed enhanced their own survival. Viewed from another perspective, the mission provided the same sort of benefits in times of hardship as was available to House Indian bands attached to fur trade posts. Thus the settlement's members would not be coerced into participating in missionary-sponsored activities if these did not fit with their

own aspirations and objectives as derived from their cultural antecedents as House Indians.

A discussion of the nature of economic activity by the Indian settlement's members showed that the economic behaviour of the settlement's inhabitants was not haphazard, but represented a careful assessment of both options and opportunities. This assessment was done in the light of the members previous patterns of economic behaviour. Evidence delineated the complexity and "success" of the inhabitants and confirmed the flexibility of the inhabitants in pursuing economic activities. The combination of economic activities--tripping, trapping, horticulture and animal husbandry--meant that for the most part, the inhabitants were able to provide for their families. Both the autonomous nature of the economic activities, and the combination of varied economic activities, were highly suggestive of House Indian economic behaviour. Unfortunately, the question of women's role in the economic life of the settlement remains only partially answered. This stems directly from the failure of the historical record to provide specific information regarding women's economic activities. At best, records support the tentative conclusion that the contribution of women to the economic life of the settlement remained congruent with what would have been possibly experienced in the context of a fur trade post as a female member of a House Indian band. Evidence does not support the suggestion that women in the Indian settlement worked outside of it. The women's lives remain cloaked in anonymity.

What emerges from this study is a picture of the Indian settlement as a complex web of economic and kin ties rooted in House Indian origins.

Marriage patterns indicated that unions between Saulteaux and Cree on the settlement were not unusual, the result being the blurring of ethnic divisions between the two groups on the settlement. Individuals who inhabited the Indian settlement eventually constituted a new historical entity which might be described as "settlement Indians." This new socio-cultural entity would share the perception that residence in a mission settlement was the most useful way to exploit new economic opportunities. Stability for one's family was provided by virtue of the mission's ability to provide necessities in times of indigence. The practise of agriculture as an economic activity combined with periods away from the mission settlement to pursue other economic activities available would be another characteristic of "settlement Indians". Thus, the "mission-settlement" would become a niche which would be filled by these individuals, and which distinguished them from others who did not choose a mission or a fort as a base.

The suggestion that the Indian settlement's members constituted, over time, a new socio-cultural entity raises questions for further study. Would it be possible to identify other missions-centred communities whose inhabitants might exhibit a similar repertoire of behaviours?. Would there be evidence from an examination of other missions, such as the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions in the Northwest, which would support the concept of "settlement Indian" as a separate and identifiable group? The possibilities are both numerous and intriguing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Records of the Church Missionary Society (hereinafter CMS), Microfilmed Copies from the Public Archives of Canada, lodged in the University of Alberta's Rutherford Library, Microforms Division, and comprising thirty-five reels. Reels 1, 2, 3 and 5 were the source of data for the period under study. This collection contains correspondence between the Church Missionary Society and its missionaries, interspersed with journals and miscellaneous items such as accounts of a financial nature.

Diocese of Rupert's Land Archives, 935 Nesbitt Bay, Winnipeg Manitoba. (hereinafter DRL) Note: At the time research for this thesis was conducted, (1985) the Archives were in the process of being catalogued. The result is that there are two reporting systems for documents from the DRL.

DRL 84-33. St.John's Cathedral Registers of Baptisms.

Registers Bl-B3, and Marriages, Registers Ml-M3.

DRL St.Peter's Registers of Baptisms, 1839-1877 and Marriages, 1839-1875.

DRL Index to Tombstones at St. Peter's Dynevor, Compiled by the Manitoba Geneological Society, 1984.

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg (hereinafter cited as HBCA)

HBCA Lower Fort Garry Post Journal, B.303/a.

HBCA Winnipeg Post Journal, B.235/a.

HBCA Lower Fort Garry, Petty Cash Payments, B/303/d/100.

HBCA Lower Fort Garry Settlers' Accounts, B.303/d/128.

HBCA Lower Fort Garry, General Petty Cash, B.303/d/99.

HBCA Red River Tripmen's Book Debts, B.235/d/52.

HBCA Inventories, District Statements and Returns Lower Red River, B.235/d/153.

HBCA Officers' and Servants' Accounts Lower Red River District, B.235/d/134;141; 152.

HBCA Inventories and District Statements Lower Red River District, B.235/d/131.

HBCA Men's Accounts and Petty Cash, B.235/d/112.

HBCA Officers' and Servants' Accounts, B.235/d/110; 115; 1; 103; 90; 100; 101.

HBCA Settler's Accounts, B.235/d/80; 80d; 71; 63; 60; 50a.

HBCA List of Servants in Hudson's Bay, A/30.

HBCA Miscellaneous Items, B.235/z.

HBCA List of Servants, Winnipeg District, B.235/f.

HBCA Norway House Post Journal, B.154/a.

HBCA Red River Censuses, 1835, 1838, 1840, 1843, 1847, E./5/8-13.

HBCA Reverend Smithurst's Private Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths at St. Peter's. E4/2/fos.10, 11d, 20d, 21, 21d, 50d, 57d, 64d, 71d, 95d.

William Inkster Papers, lodged in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, hereinafter cited as PAC, Inkster Papers.

PAC, Inkster Papers, MG 19 E7 Volume I Store Accounts, 1840-1872.

PAC, Inkster Papers, MG 19 E7 Volume II, Accounts 1853-1859.

PAC, Inkster Papers, MG 19 E7 Volume III, Accounts for Plains Hunters, 1860-65.

PAC, Inkster Papers, MG 19 E7 Volume III, Accounts for Tripmen, 1849-1850.

Secondary Sources

Barth, Frederick. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969.

Begg, Alexander. A History of the Northwest. Volume 1. Hunter, Rose and Company, 1894.

Boon, T.C.B. The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962.

_____. "St. Peter's Dynevor". Manitoba Historical Proceedings. Series 3, No. 9, 1952-53, pp. 22-24.

Brown, Jennifer. "Women as Centre and Symbol" in the Emergence of Metis Communities" Canadian Journal of Native Studies. Vol. 111, No.1, 1983.
pp.39-46.

_____.Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

_____. "Northern Algonquian from Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay to Manitoba in the Historic Period." in Native Peoples: the Canadian Experience. Edited by R. Bruce Morrison and Roderick Wilson. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.

_____. "A Demographic Transition in the Fur Trade Country." The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology. Volume VI, no.1., 1976. pp.54- 64.

Bryce, George. The Romantic Settlement of Lord Selkirk's Colonists. Toronto: Lovell, 1909.

Czuboka, Michael Peter. "St. Peter's: An Historical Study with Anthropological Observations on the Christian Aborigines of Red River (1811-1876). Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960.

Dormon, James H. "Ethnic Groups and Ethnicity: Some Theoretical Considerations" The Journal of Ethnic Studies. 7:4, 1980. pp. 23-36.

_____. The People Called the Cajuns: An Introduction to Ethnohistory. Lafayette: The University of South Western Louisiana, 1983.

Ens, Gerhard J. "Kinship, Ethnicity, Class, and the Red River Metis: The Perishes of St. Francolis Xavier and St. Andrews". Unpublished Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1989.

_____."Dispossession or Adaptation? Migration and Persistence of the Red River Metis, 1835-1890." Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1988. pp. 120-144.

Foster, John E. "The Anglican Church in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1826." Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Alberta, 1972.

_____. "Poulet Paul-Metis or 'House Indian' Folk Hero". Manitoba History, 7, Spring, 1985. pp. 2-7.

_____. "The Plains Metis" in Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience. Edited by R. Bruce Morrison and Roderick Wilson. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.

_____. "Some Questions and Perspectives on the Problem of Metis Roots." in The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis. Edited by Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985.

_____. "The Home Guard Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company: The First One Hundred Years". in Approaches to Native History. Edited by D.A. Muise. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, Historical Division Paper 25. Ottawa: 1975.

_____."The Metis: The People and the Term". in Prairie Forum. Vol.3, no.1, 1978. Galbraith, John S. The Little Emperor. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976.

Garrioch, Reverend A.C. First Furrows. London: Stowell and Company, 1923.

Goldring, Philip. Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900, Volume 1. Manuscript Report no. 362. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979.

_____. "Labour Records of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1870. Archivaria 11, Winter 1980-81. Gunn, Donald, and C.H. Tuttle. A History of Manitoba, 1880. Manitoba, 1880.

Great Britain. British Parliamentary Papers Relating to Canada, 1859 Colonies: "Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement, Henry Youle Hind.

Hargraves, Joseph J. History of the Red River Settlement. London: J. Lovell, 1871.

Hind, Henry Youle. Narrative of the Canadian River Exploring Expedition of 1857. Vol. 1.

Judd, Carol M. "Native Labour and Social Stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department." in Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. 17(4) 1980. pp. 21-34.

Morton, A.S. A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71. Second Edition. Edited by Lewis G.Thomas. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Morton, W.L. "The Red River Parish: Its Place in the Development of Manitoba". in Manitoba Essays R.C.Lodge, (ed.) . Toronto: The MacMillan Co., 1937.

_____."Agriculture in the Red River Colony" Canadian Historical Review. 30(4) December 1949. pp.305-321.

_____."Introduction" Alexander Begg's Red River Journal. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1956.

_____.A History of Manitoba. Ottawa: MacLean, Roger and Co., 1880.

Pannekoek, Frits. " A Probe into the Demographic Structure of Nineteenth Century Red River". in L.H.Thomas, ed., Essays on Western History. Canada: Oxford University Press, Canadian Branch, 1975.

Peterson, Jacqueline. "Ethnogenesis: Settlement and Growth of a 'New People' in the Great Lakes Region 1702-1815." in American Culture and Research Journal. 6:2(1982) pp.23-64.

_____. "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Metis". Ethnohistory. 25:1 (Winter, 1978). pp. 41-61.

_____. "Many Roads to Red River: Metis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1815." in The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America. Manitoba: University of Winnipeg Press, 1985.

____. Peterson, Jacqueline, and Jennifer S.H. Brown. The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America Manitoba: University of Winnipeg Press, 1985.

Pritchett, John Perry. The Red River Valley, 1811- 1849, A Regional Study. Toronto, Ryerson Press.

Rich, E.E. Colin Roberson's Letters, 1817-1822. Hudson's Bay Record Society. Reprint Edition. Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1968.

____. The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870. Second Edition. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960.

Ross, Alexander. The Red River Settlement: Its Rise Progress, and Present State. Reprint Edition. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1972.

Sprague, Douglas N. The Geneology of the First Metis Nation: Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820-1900. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publishers, 1983.

_____. "Fur Trade Company Town: Land and Population in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1870. Unpublished Manuscript, University of Manitoba, 1981.

Sprenger, G. Herman. "The Metis Nation: Buffalo Hunting vs. Agriculture in the Red River Settlement (Circa 1810-1870)". in The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology. Vol. 111, no .1, 1972. pp. 158-174.

Thistle, Paul C. Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1986.

Thompson, Chief Albert Edward. Chief Peguis and his Descendants. Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1973.

Tucker, Sarah. Rainbow in the North. London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1851.

Van Kirk, Sylvia. Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870. Winnipeg, Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980.

West, John. The Substance of a Journal During Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America. London: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1827.